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Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver
The Architect of Salem



Samuel McIntire. Pastel attributed to Benjamin Blyth.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver The Architect of Salem

BY

FISKE KIMBALL

Director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art



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Preface

SAMUEL MCINTIRE has become the most celebrated of the craftsmen-architects of America. Books and articles have built up for him an almost legendary fame, and photographs and drawings of buildings attributed to him have multiplied on every hand. In spite of these, however, our authentic knowledge of his style and his works has remained extremely limited. Attribution of buildings to McIntire has been made largely on the basis of uncertain suppositions as to his style, with little effort to determine the authorship by documents or by firmly reasoned comparison with buildings for which his responsibility has already been thus established. Drawings and buildings in which he had no hand, some executed before his birth or after his death have thus been put forward as his work, whereas buildings erected from his signed drawings are not recognized as his. The course of his development in matters of style, the influences under which it took place, and his own contribution to the style of his time have all yet remained to be determined. Their determination will not only increase our knowledge of McIntire, but will throw much light on the whole architecture of New England at a crucial period of its history, and give us clearer understanding of its forms, which have been so widely imitated.

The material which provides the chief basis of any fundamental knowledge of McIntire's work is the collection of original architectural drawings belonging to the Essex Institute in Salem. These give the possibility of determining authentically, from drawings signed by McIntire, or bearing his handwriting, the authorship of many buildings designed by him. The manuscript documents and accounts of the Derbys and other Salem families at the Essex Institute give further evidence as to McIntire's services. For the dates of the buildings, so vaguely and inaccurately stated in the past, reliable evidence exists not only in the drawings and bills but in the old deeds and tax records, in the diaries of William Bentley and Margaret Holyoke, and in other contemporary records. Other facilities, almost unique in their extent, are furnished by the Essex Institute's exhaustive *Historical Collections*.

The forms and details of the buildings thus established as McIntire's, many of them now destroyed or remodelled, must be studied not only by examination of the structures themselves, when they remain, but by recourse to old photographs and engravings, of which the Institute has such remarkable store, and to early descrip-

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tions. Only with the accurate knowledge of McIntire's style and development gained from all these sources can mooted questions as to other buildings, for which documentary evidence as to authorship and date is lacking, be settled by a careful comparison of all their features with corresponding features in the series of authentic works already established.

The addition which the new material and stricter method make to our knowledge of American architecture aside from McIntire's work, is also considerable. The authenticated series of buildings studied is the first of such extent to be determined in New England, and gives a typical example of the changes going on everywhere in that region after the Revolution. Twelve of the drawings in the Essex Institute collection we find to be by an architect younger and more famous than McIntire, Charles Bulfinch. They form the principal body of his domestic designs in existence, and clearly show not only his influence on McIntire's style and technique but also his position as the great reformer of domestic as well as public architecture in New England. The adoption in New England of the curved staircase and the oval room, as well as of Adam detail — in all of which McIntire had a large part — are now seen to depend directly on the example of Bulfinch.

Beside designing buildings and carving their ornaments, McIntire — as is now, after some controversy, universally recognized — carved many pieces of furniture which rank among the most beautiful produced in America. More than a hundred such pieces are now known. To illustrate them here would extend the plates of this book beyond even the liberal compass allotted. They will form the subject of another volume, primarily for a different circle of readers.

This book was begun at the invitation of the Essex Institute in 1917, just after the appearance of my volume of Jefferson's designs. Other preoccupations have intervened. More consonant with my own interests a score of years ago than now, the work is completed in gratitude for the many courtesies I have received from my friends in Salem and at the Institute. Generous subventions for its publication have been made by the Institute and by the American Council of Learned Societies.

My personal obligations are many: to the officers of the Essex Institute past and present, especially to Henry Wyckoff Belknap, Howard Corning, James Duncan Phillips, Stephen W. Phillips, Miss Harriet Silvester Tapley, Mrs. Charles Milliken Duren and to the late Henry Morrill Batchelder, William Crowninshield Endicott and George Francis Dow; to those of the Peabody Museum, especially to

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Lawrence Waters Jenkins and the late John Robinson; to those of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, especially Miss Henrietta C. Quinn, Miss Elizabeth B. Kunkel and Charles Whitenack, of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, especially to Edwin J. Hipkiss, and of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; to those of the National Park Service, especially to Stuart Moffett Barnette and Edwin W. Small; to those of the American Antiquarian Society, especially to Clarence S. Brigham and Robert W. G. Vail; to those of the Maryland Historical Society; to Ogden Codman, Addison B. Le Boutillier, Frank Chouteau Brown, Joseph Everett Chandler, Philip Horton Smith, Messrs. Hartwell and Richardson, Mrs. Richard B. Gregg and Mrs. Clarke Walling; to the Reverend James W. Bixler and Miss Frances E. Moulton of the First Church, Exeter; as well as to the owners of the houses illustrated, who, with uniform courtesy, have allowed them to be examined and photographed. It is to Henry Wyckoff Belknap, among all others, that I am particularly indebted. Our almost daily correspondence on the subject over a long period of years must have been a great burden to him in the midst of his many duties as Secretary of the Institute at that time, yet he bore this with unfailing cheerfulness. He has since represented the Institute in revision of the manuscript and has made important discoveries and corrections. His great fund of information, his access to persons and places in Salem have constantly been placed at the disposal of the writer and of the work.

FISKE KIMBALL

December 25, 1939

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Background

THE background of McIntire's creative work was the architecture of New England, and especially of Salem itself, before the American Revolution, and, more remotely, the English architecture of the day with its new movements at just the time of the struggle with the colonies.

It is still not fully realized how very much that is called "Colonial" comes from the period after the Revolution, when the style had been vastly enriched by such men as McIntire himself. The characteristics of the truly Colonial or pre-Revolutionary style, in the country at large, we have elsewhere sought to describe,¹ and limit ourselves here to its special traits in the New England environment.

More even than in New York or Philadelphia, the greater number of the finest New England houses before the Revolution showed on the exterior a very limited employment of classical forms and details. The great majority depended largely for their effect on good proportion and on simple handling of materials, chiefly wood, with formal treatment confined to the functional members — wall surfaces, doorways, windows, angles and floor lines. Rarely were all of these elaborated: the east front of the Royall house in Medford (1733-1737) with its rich doorway, windows and angle blocks, was very exceptional. More often the wall surface itself was covered with groovings or "rustication," in imitation of stonework, as in the Pickman (1750), Jonathan Mansfield (1758), and Timothy Orne (1761) houses in Salem and the Jeremiah Lee house in Marblehead (1768). In general the houses were covered merely with clapboards, and had only the simplest window trim.

A few houses only showed attempts to conform to the Palladian style which had become the accepted mode of design in the great houses of England. The Pickman and Jeremiah Lee mansions with a few others in New England, had a central, projecting "pavilion," crowned by a pediment. Several ambitious houses are characterized by the employment of an "order" of pilasters or columns; rising above a story treated as a tall academic basement in the Matthew Cozzens (Bull) house near Newport; elsewhere extending from the ground floor to the main cornice, as in the Hooper house, The Lindens, in nearby Danvers, now removed to Washington.

Columns standing free were exceedingly rare in New England domestic architecture, occurring only at small scale in the framing of the main doorway. The Timothy Orne and Jeremiah Lee houses had each a door portico with a pair of columns, academically correct in detail. Such houses represented the very modest extreme of classical character reached in New England domestic architecture before

¹ "Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic" (Scribner, 1922).

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the Revolution. In all New England, at the Revolution, there was no house with a portico of four columns, still less one where the columns of such a portico rose the full height of the house as in the Morris (Jumel) house in New York (1765), or were superposed in two stories as in Lansdowne at Philadelphia, or in Drayton Hall, the Miles Brewton house, or Monticello in the South.

The plans of pre-Revolutionary houses in New England were monotonously simple. A single square mass of four rooms to a floor, or a thinner mass of two rooms with an ell for the kitchen was used as the size of the establishment dictated. A straight central hall containing the stairs, which had been generally adopted about 1720, was almost universal. In the Hancock house (1737-1740), the John Vassall house (1759) and some other leading houses after the middle of the century, a second stair was provided. In the Hancock house this was to one side at right angles to the first; more usually the two were back to back. Even in these better houses the rooms were always rectangular, little varied in size, and laid out with small thought of convenience of arrangement, still less of spatial effect.

Shirley Place in Roxbury, with its large central salon, its shallow vestibule and retired staircase, was unique in New England. We scarcely realize that octagonal, circular, and oval rooms, semi-circular staircases, and other features which give variety and interest to the plans of the finest New England houses are exclusively post-Revolutionary.

In the interiors of the pre-Revolutionary houses, although the woodwork was much more richly handled than on the exterior and pilasters were more common, any unified academic scheme was likewise rare. Each motive, whether doorway, mantel, pilaster, or arched recess was generally treated by itself, with a profusion of broken architraves and entablatures, scroll pediments, consoles, and similar features which betokened a survival of the baroque element in the work of Wren. Only on the eve of the Revolution, in a few such rooms as the drawing-room of the Jeremiah Lee house at Marblehead, was a more canonical and elegant treatment attempted, with Corinthian pilasters and an entablature carrying all about room.

In the neighborhood of Salem, at Beverly, at Danvers, and at Marblehead, there were, as we have seen, several notable houses of the period just before the Revolution. In Salem itself, such a fine house as that of Timothy Orne, with its level cornice, was not alone in representing the more advanced New England fashions of the time. The George Crowninshield mansion, built about 1750-1760 on the site of the present Custom House, had tall corner pilasters running through its two stories.² It was more common, however, even in pretentious houses, to retain

² R. S. Rantoul in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, X (1869), 58-59.

Background

the gambrel roof of an earlier day, with simple wall surfaces. This is true of the Benjamin Pickman house in Essex Street (1750), the Miles Ward and Joseph Cabot houses, and the house built by Richard Derby for his son Elias Hasket in 1761. Few were of brick. Colonial treatment in Salem did not differ substantially in style from that of the Hancock house in Boston, begun nearly forty years before the Revolution: heavy panels with occasional pilasters, twisted balusters and newels.

Of particular interest to us is the Jonathan Mansfield house on Norman Street in Salem, for — as appears from the contract in possession of the Essex Institute — one of the builders of this fine house was Joseph McIntire, the father of Samuel. The contract, made by Mansfield July 10, 1758, with "Joseph Mackentire" and Samuel Luscomb, Jr., describes the house without referring to any drawings: "Board & finish ye front with Rustick work & each corner in imitation of stone work. The covings as in Coll Pickman's Mansion House . . . and three outside Doors headed as may be directed . . . put up ye Bannisters and Rail ye same rampt & twisted" — Mansfield binding himself "to find Provide & Deliver to said Joseph and Samuel at the house aforesaid all the Ballisters ready made." Without quite approaching the three or four most ambitious houses of the day in its district, it shows the competence of its executants. On the stair-landing is a doorway with a scroll pediment, one of the few in Salem. Between the scrolls stood a small carved figure of Hope, now preserved at the Essex Institute. In the treatment of the bust and skirt there are analogies to figures by the Skillins of Boston about 1791-1793,³ so that it cannot be claimed on internal evidence for either Joseph or Samuel McIntire.

In the matter of public buildings and churches New England was fortunate in having a group of structures of unusually ambitious character designed by John Smibert and Peter Harrison. Faneuil Hall, 1742, had a "Roman arch order" in two stories all around. Harrison, in the old market at Newport, used an order embracing two stories, over an arched basement. In the Redwood Library there he set the high-water mark of academic character in the colonies by employing a free standing portico of four columns, united with the building by an unbroken entablature. His two churches, King's Chapel in Boston, and Christ Church in Cambridge, in spite of their rich basilican interiors, still lacked any marked classical features on the exterior. The colonnade about the tower of King's Chapel was an addition by Bulfinch after 1790. Nevertheless these buildings greatly surpassed in elaboration all the others of their day and region, which preserved, both inside and out, the simple and homely character of the Old State House and the Old South Church in Boston.

Salem itself before the Revolution had neither public buildings nor churches of

³ Mabel M. Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 341.

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great pretensions. The town-house and court-house of 1718, the brick school-house of 1760, the old assembly-room of about 1766, were all of the plainest and most utilitarian character. The churches also offered little of architectural interest, as remodelled on the eve of the war, the best conforming merely to the scheme of the Old South in Boston, with the pulpit against one broad side, light galleries around the other three. The spire of the East Church erected in 1771⁴ was but "a single post let into the steeple of 8 inches diameter to support the ornaments & Vane," and the original steeple of the North Church, 1772, does not seem to have surpassed it.⁵ Such were the modest structures of the town in which McIntire began his work.

A period of political and economic importance for Salem was beginning, however, which was to provide the basis for a richer development of architecture. The closing of the port of Boston in 1774 and the transfer of the capital of Massachusetts to Salem were the beginning of a new era there. Until the British evacuated Boston, Salem had almost a monopoly of the foreign commerce of New England, and when trading became too dangerous a rich harvest of privateering ensued. The Revolution left Salem with a fleet of the fastest sailing ships on the ocean, which soon opened the routes from America to India and China. Then until the Embargo in 1807 was a time of the greatest commercial prosperity, which led to the amassing of such unexampled American fortunes as that of Elias Hasket Derby, estimated on his death in 1799 at a million dollars, and that of William Gray, estimated at three million when he left Salem in 1809. This wealth found its expression, as we shall see, not only in stately dwellings but also in churches and public buildings of a higher order, in the erection and adornment of which Samuel McIntire had a principal part.

⁴ *Diary of William Bentley*, June 26, 1814, IV, 262.

⁵ *The First Centenary of the North Church in Salem*, 1873, 22.

Life

SAMUEL MCINTIRE, whose death was recorded in the town records of Salem in the words of our title, may well never have put his name to any other writing than a bill, a receipt, or business paper. Not a single letter of his is preserved. Of his person we have one likeness;¹ it shows a man of force, with clear, blue eyes, large, irregular nose, and strong mouth. Of his personality, outside his work, we get but a few glimpses. His life is all in his work.

Parentage, Youth and Marriage

He was baptized in the First Church in Salem, January 16, 1757. Through his mother, Sarah Ruck, he had good New England blood; his father, Joseph (b. 1716), was one of a line of substantial housewrights, one of the builders, as we have seen, of the Jonathan Mansfield house.² It has been stated that the son was born in the old Ruck house which stood until 1932, much remodelled, at 8 Mill Street.³ Joseph McIntire did buy this property, then extending northerly to Norman's Lane (Norman Street) in 1751 (Essex Deeds 98:60), but sold the southern part with the old house in 1754. The lot at 21 (later 31) Norman Street, with a "dwelling house and buildings thereon," remained in possession of Joseph until his death in July, 1776, and it was here that Samuel was born.

Before his father's death, Samuel will have learned the family trade, along with his brothers Joseph (1748-1825) and Angier (1759-1803). At twenty-one, on August 31, 1778 he married Elizabeth, daughter of Samuel Field. They had one son who survived — Samuel Field McIntire, baptized in November, 1780. It would appear that the couple lived at first with the wife's parents in the brick house in School Street now numbered 90 Washington Street. McIntire in return for assuming a certain debt, held a mortgage from 1785 to 1790 on the front part of this house, with the privilege of using the "entry and stairs to the chamber and garret" (Essex Deeds 146:7). In 1786 he purchased land on Summer Street and built the modest house still standing at number 31 (Figures 66-70), which he occupied during the rest of his life, having his shop also on the property.

In 1796, February 23 (rectified by deeds of March 4), there was a partition of the elder Joseph McIntire's estate among his heirs, Joseph taking half the dwell-

¹ The pastel, probably by Benjamin Blyth, reproduced as our frontispiece. It was left to the Essex Institute by George W. Low, a great-grandson, who died in 1938, aged 78. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIV, 361.

² For the genealogy see Appendix E.

³ The frame of it is now occupied by the Park Commission.

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ing house on Norman Street, his sisters the other half, Angier a third lot, and Samuel releasing his interest for the sum of \$146 (Deeds 160:180-182). In these documents all three of the brothers are mentioned as housewrights, but as we shall see, Samuel was by this time devoting himself chiefly to carving and designing.

Career in Architecture

Early Years

At first he worked usually in partnership with his two brothers. In the Derby papers we find bills in the name of Joseph McIntire & Brothers (1779-1786), and a receipt by Samuel on behalf of Joseph, Samuel and Angier McIntire; but there are also bills and receipts in the names of the brothers singly, even on work they did together.⁴

The first work of the brothers of which we have record was in the half of the house on Essex Street near the southeast corner of Washington, purchased by Major John Hathorne in 1776. The receipt of Joseph McIntire and Samuel McIntire, in the sum of £90, was for "finishing three rooms and two staircases." These, as well as the other half of the house, where Joseph McIntire did some other finishing in 1787 and 1788, after Hathorne's acquisition of that part, were swept away when the present building on the site was erected, and we have no knowledge of their character.

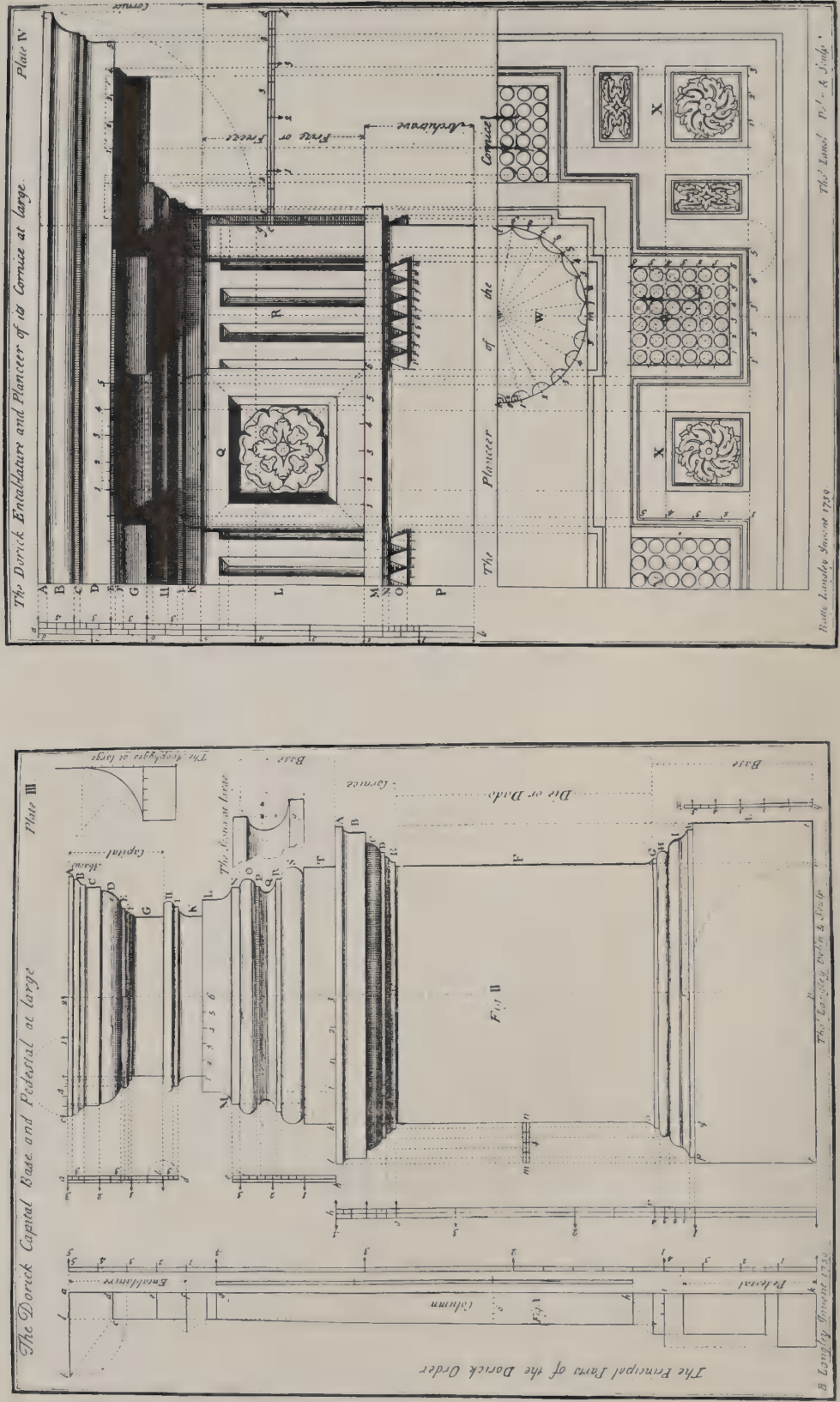
Samuel McIntire must have displayed a skill and inspired a confidence beyond his years, for not long after this he came under the patronage, which was to be lifelong, of the greatest of Salem merchants of the day, Elias Hasket Derby, and of his wife, Elizabeth Crowninshield. Her love of display was responsible for a long series of commissions. The first was for a great house near the Derby wharf, begun in 1780 (Figures 17-19). Work here was abandoned in 1783 after the house had reached its full height, the Derbys having meanwhile acquired the mansion of Benjamin Pickman, built in 1764 on a conspicuous site in Court Street. The façade of the house by the wharf would have been remarkable for a portico of four Ionic columns opposite the ground story, and for a Palladian window and a great lunette marking the center of the two stories above. The designer was clearly beginning to acquire and to know his architectural books and had taught himself to draw better than any of his predecessors among the builder-architects.

His will have been the design of the great house built about 1782 by Jerathmeel Peirce (Figures 1, 21-47). It is the finest of the houses still surviving from that

⁴ For further instances of this collaboration see the detailed discussions of the Joshua Ward and Francis Boardman houses, as well as the 1776 bill for work on the schooner *Harlequin* for Captain Tucker, quoted below.



Figure 1. Jerathmeel Peirce House, 80 Federal Street, Salem, about 1782.



Figures 2 and 3. Prototypes of details of the Jerathmeel Peirce House.
 From Langley's *Treasury of Designs*, 1745.

Life

time. In general style it did not differ from a number of great houses built in Massachusetts before the Revolution: foursquare, three stories in height, with tall pilasters at the corners — used primarily as trophies of provincial culture. It did differ, however, from all but a very few buildings by the leading amateurs — in its more literate adherence to academic profiles and proportions in these and other classical details, and thus in its total effect. This was one of great solidity and dignity. The details come from a work long familiar to colonial carpenters, Batty Langley's *Builder's Treasury*, first published in 1740, but the plates are followed with a more literal faithfulness.

McIntire designed also the fine house built by Francis Boardman on Salem Common in 1782–1789 — likewise three stories and foursquare, with quoins at the corners, instead of pilasters as in the Peirce house (Figures 48–51). The Boardman house had been offered for Washington's accommodation in 1789 and he turned out of his way to pass and admire it.

It was Samuel McIntire who determined the form of the internal finish, at least, in the famous brick house of Joshua Ward on Court (now Washington) Street, where President Washington stayed during his visit to Salem, October 29, 1789 (Figures 4, 52–54). The erection of the house falls in the years 1784–1787. The stairway is our first surviving example of a type found in several of McIntire's early houses, with sturdy balusters in the form of a Roman Doric column, very canonical in its proportions and details. The multiplied easings of the rail, the broken pediment of the door on the landing, reveal the survival of baroque influence from the colonial day.

In 1785 Samuel McIntire's skill was laid under contribution for the design of the principal public building in Salem, the Court-house, demolished in 1839 (Figures 55, 56). One of the first governmental edifices of importance built in New England after the Revolution, it was in its early days one of the most ambitious. A Doric portico, with Ionic pilasters above adorned the front, a tall cupola in three stages rose over the center. Washington, on his visit, received the homage of the multitude on its balcony.

Not to be outdone in magnificence by fellow-townsmen, the Derbys undertook in 1786 a refronting of their house in Court Street, renamed Washington Street (Figures 58–65). McIntire's design was similar to that of the Peirce house, but with the tall corner pilasters Ionic instead of Doric.

Among McIntire's other houses of the period, the most notable is that of Simon Forrester (Figures 5, 71–74). The rich chimneypiece, now belonging to the Essex Institute, is the only important example of McIntire's carving surviving from this early day.

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The Stearns Block, the first pretentious commercial building in Salem and one of the earliest unified business blocks in the country, was designed by McIntire in 1792 (Figures 75, 76). Its pedimented front was simple but of excellent proportions. Inside was a fine assembly-hall, Washington Hall, with a strong Doric cornice, coved ceiling, and balustraded musician's gallery.

His early successes emboldened McIntire to submit a design (Figures 77-83) in the competition for plans of the Federal Capitol in 1792, one by no means unworthy of consideration among the majority of those received.⁵ It shows a noble palace with a great central portico of six tall Corinthian columns above a high basement, conforming to the favorite academic scheme for monumental buildings. For suggestion McIntire went outside his own small library to a plate in James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, one of the finest of the early eighteenth-century folios. Thus in his most ambitious effort, McIntire rose to the new heights required by the subject, in dignity, largeness of conception, and richness of detail. The design was a fitting culmination of the early period of his work.

The Middle Period

A new sun had meanwhile risen in New England architecture, a new style had been revealed in the first designs of Charles Bulfinch, fresh from his Grand Tour. In his houses for Joseph Barrell (Figures 120, 121) and Thomas Russell (Figures 122, 123, 128) in Charlestown, he had brought in a greater variety in plan, and had introduced the slender and delicate Adam manner in decoration. McIntire was quick to recognize and study the new fashion; sketches he made at both of these houses are still preserved. By 1793 he was following it in his own practice.

His first works in the new style date from 1793. The Nathan Read house (Figures 6, 89-92), was typical of many to follow. Although it preserved the plan and the mass of the earlier great houses, their heavy dignity gives way in it to more refined elegance. The tall pilasters and corner quoins disappear. The cornice, the balusters above, become thinner and more delicate, as do the columns of the porch — here a reduced echo of the large semi-circular portico of the Barrell house. Within, the mid-Georgian detail of fireplace and doorway, with their heavy architraves, is replaced by slender Adam forms, reeded or panelled pilasters, with capitals and friezes delicately enriched with the carvings by the craftsman-architect himself. Here already we see not only fine Corinthian capitals carved after the plates of William and James Pain, but baskets of fruit, horns of plenty, and sprays of grape, motives which became typical of McIntire's decorative work.

⁵ F. Kimball and Wells Bennett, "The Competition for the Federal Buildings," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, VII (1919), 8-12, 92-102, 202-210, 355-361, 521-528; VIII (1920) 117-124.

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A house of exceptional qualities, in which Bulfinch's innovations in planning had an influence, is the Lyman house in Waltham (Figures 7, 93-109), the only building outside the Salem vicinity from McIntire's designs. Theodore Lyman had taken his bride in Salem, and thither she looked for her architect. The land was bought in March, 1793, and by 1798 Mr. Lyman's elegant seat, with its beautiful grounds in the landscape style, was an object of admiration to travellers. The front was adorned in the upper story with pairs of small Ionic pilasters, below, with rustic blocks about the openings. The hall, ending in a screen of columns, led into an oval drawing-room projecting toward the garden as in Bulfinch's Barrell house. Wings to the left and right for kitchen and ballroom, connected by lower passages, gave the house something of the air of the Maryland houses of the period.

Mrs. Derby, although she had remodelled the Pickman house but a few years before, could not be left behind by the change of fashion. Great preparations were made, and local talent was not alone considered. Bulfinch himself was called on for a set of drawings (Figures 114-117), and others were got even from New York. A first attempt was made to adapt the new ideas to a remodelling of Colonel Browne's fine house of an earlier day which stood on the site (Figure 129), but this was abandoned, and the house demolished, to the astonishment of frugal citizens. Features of Bulfinch's design and of the Barrell and Russell houses were then combined in the final plans drawn by McIntire and executed in 1795-1798 (Figures 135-138). A vista from the entrance on the north ran through the central stair-hall with curved ends, and through an oval drawing-room which formed the center of a suite along the southern, garden front. Over the central bow toward the garden, rose a majestic curved portico. The front, in general, followed Bulfinch's sketch, itself based on the Provost's house in Dublin (Figure 119), and thus was a distant descendant of Burlington's famous house for General Wade in London (Figure 118). To left and right were formal outbuildings; a summer-house in the form of a temple adorned the landscape garden which ran down to a terrace toward the water. All told, the "Mansion"—as it was distinguished among the other houses of the Derbys—seemed to contemporaries "more like a palace than the dwelling of an Americant merchant."

In the decoration of the interior there was the greatest lavishness. For every room, as his bill shows, McIntire carved capitals, modillions, roses, draperies, cabling or beads. The single chimneypiece which survives (Figure 151) shows an almost overlaid richness, its columns wreathed in sprays of laurel. In the oval room the stucco-worker Daniel Raynerd executed a sumptuous Adam ceiling (Figure 143). Marble "images" and vases, mirrors and magnificent furniture, itself largely carved by McIntire, completed the effect.

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The owners had but a few months to inhabit and enjoy the house before the death of both in 1799. It proved too great a burden for the eldest of the seven children, among whom the whole estate was divided equally. In 1815, the Salem diarist Bentley wrote "the convenience of the spot for other buildings brought a sentence of destruction on it, and before the world it was destroyed from its foundations."

Elias Hasket Derby and his wife had employed McIntire also at their farm in Danvers, where there was a beautiful garden tended by the German horticulturist, George Heussler, and where McIntire built a lovely summer-house in two stories (Figures 8, 110-112), adorned with sculptured figures by John and Simeon Skilling of Boston.

On the death of the great merchant, those of the children who had not received one of the fine existing houses as part of their inheritance began to build in feverish rivalry. Thus by 1800 Elizabeth Derby, who had married Captain Nathaniel West, built Oak Hill from McIntire's designs on her tract in a part of Danvers later set off as Peabody (Figures 9, 184-202). A circular staircase rose in the middle. The richness of decoration rivalled even that of her father's mansion, Samuel McIntire's carvings being supplemented in 1813, after his death, by further ornaments executed by his son.

At the same time Derby's third son, Ezekiel Hersey, secured plans for his house on Essex Street from Bulfinch. The execution of the carved detail was left to McIntire. The mantels were rich with figural ornament, the great semi-circular stair-hall with carved archways and a stucco ceiling (Figures 166-183).

John, the second son, took over the Pickman (Derby) house on Washington Street, added mantels in the new style (Figure 65), and in 1803 erected the beautiful coach house from McIntire's design (Figure 64). Anstis Derby, who had married Benjamin Pickman, contented herself with adding a new bow, a new porch, and new mantelpieces to the fine old Pickman house on Essex Street (Figures 203-208).

The reputation of the craftsman at this time finds reflection in an entry in the diary of his friend, the Reverend William Bentley, October 8, 1802 (II, 452): "As a Carver we place Mr. McIntire with Skillings of Boston. In some works he has succeeded well. He cuts smoother than Skillings but he has not his genius. In architecture he excels any person in our country,⁶ and in his executions as a Carpenter, or Cabinet maker."

This reputation, and the new fashion he had so largely contributed to introduce,

⁶ Bentley says this in the sense of "our locality." On March 1 of the same year he had spoken of Charles Bulfinch as "the most eminent architect of our Country" (II, 417).

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brought much other work to McIntire. He planned a house for Nathan Read in the country. In 1795 he designed the handsome house of William Orne, conservative in style (Figures 153, 154). The Assembly-house was remodelled as a private dwelling about 1796, receiving a new front with Ionic pilasters. For the marriage of his daughter Sally to George Nichols in 1801, Jerathmeel Peirce remodelled the eastern half of his great house, and the new parlor there rightly counts as one of McIntire's masterpieces in the Adam manner (Figures 36-38). The house built by Samuel Cook in 1802-1803 has an admirably carved doorway and a particularly fine carved fence (Figures 220-229). Clifford Crowninshield's house on the Common (1804-1806) with its handsome outbuildings (Figures 254-259), preserved a high standard of detail, especially in its lovely parlor mantel, with a carved trophy of musical instruments. John Gardner built his fine house of brick in the same years (Figures 242-253). The interior is particularly elaborate, the carving of the doorways and chimneypieces rivalling that of the Derby mansion itself. A double house, likewise of brick, was built for Jonathan Hodges (Figures 261, 262). The house on Cambridge Street built for Thomas Butman in 1806-1807 (Figures 273-276) was remarkable not only for fine details but for its staircase, completely circular in plan. In the house built for the Registry of Deeds, 1807, the principal mantel had the carved eagle so characteristic of the artist.

We find single features carved by McIntire in this period, such as doorways and chimneypieces, in many other houses in Salem (Figures 336-341). Some of his carved ornaments were carried further afield, and were there applied by local builders, in one instance even so far away as Portsmouth (Figures 342-347). The general design of the elements to which these ornaments were applied makes it amply evident that McIntire himself did not work in these more distant towns, and that only the principal carvings were secured from him in Salem.

A number of Salem churches also fell to McIntire during these middle years. In 1796 he replaced the old steeple of the North Meeting-house with a plain octagonal belfry (Figures 162, 163). In 1804 the South Church was begun from his designs (Figures 230-236). The debits for the building begin with a charge "for a horse and chaise to take Samuel Mackintire to Newburyport and Exeter." Of what he there saw, it was the steeple at Newburyport which attracted his admiration, and the steeple of the South Church was modelled after that, with some simplifications and improvements in proportion. There were three stages above the tower, one square and two octagonal, with a tall spire above — certainly one of the most graceful in New England. The tower itself rested on a broad porch fronted by four Ionic pilasters with festooned capitals. Within, the high pulpit, surmounted by a Palladian window, was framed by a great Corinthian order. In the emulation among the

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churches, the Branch Meeting-house was built from McIntire's designs in 1804-1805, and even the old Tabernacle must have a new steeple by him (Figures 263, 264).

McIntire, now well recognized as a local celebrity, continued to be employed also on works of a public character. Thus when the Common was levelled and fenced as Washington Square in 1802 he was called on to design the several gateways — the principal one a little wooden triumphal arch adorned with sculpture and crowned by an eagle (Figures 214-218). Hamilton Hall, to which the Salem Assemblies were transferred about 1805, was a very admirable and dignified solution of the architectural problem, its great hall above having a row of five Palladian windows under simple brick arches (Figures 267-270). In little school-houses, also, he rose superior to the conventions of the type (Figures 279-281). Very probably the Custom House of 1805, at 6 Central Street, a simple brick block with pediment and columned doorway bearing one of his eagles, was also of his design (Figures 260, 373). The house for the Registry of Deeds, already mentioned, contained the Register's Office.

Last Years

The houses of McIntire's last years, after 1807, were all of brick. Two of them, adjoining, for Moses Little (Figure 282) and Gideon Tucker (Figures 292-294), substantially repeated the general design of the John Gardner house, just across the street. Like them the Enoch Dow house (Figures 287-291) had a semi-circular porch. The Joseph Felt house (Figures 310-315), with a square Doric porch to the street, and the similar houses for Thomas March Woodbridge (Figures 301-309) and Benjamin Williams Crowninshield (Figures 322-324), were among McIntire's last works. In the façades of this latest group we see an increasing austerity, as the growing classicism of the time laid its restraint on the craftsman's hand, which still showed its facility in new motives of interior ornament.

With the growth of trade and of communication certain larger tasks were imposed on the designer — hotels and business buildings of a larger scale. The building of turnpikes had called as early as 1804 for large and handsome taverns at Lynn, Topsfield and Lynnfield (Figures 237-241). The Archer (Franklin) Building in Salem, 1809-1810, was perhaps the most extensive undertaking of the architect (Figures 295-300). It comprised four stories with shops below, many offices, and a hall above. The treatment was sober, of admirable proportion, depending only on the skilful grouping of the openings in the brick walls, and on a rich balustrade at the eaves. With such excellent work McIntire closed his career in architecture.

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McIntire's charges for his architectural designs were extremely modest. Those of which we have record, beside \$35 for the plan of the Registry of Deeds, are as follows:

Elias Hasket Derby

1791	Aug. 2d	to a Design for a Front Fence	£ — 5 —
1794	Dec. 4th	to Sundrie Drawings for Summer Houses	1 : 4 —

John Derby

1803	Sept. 21	to a Drawing for a Coach house	0 : 15 —
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Gideon Tucker

1809	Aug. 31st	To Several Drawings for Dwelling house, Chaise house, Barn, &c	10 : 0 : 0
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In the advance of architecture at that time to a professional status, under the hands of Hadfield, Latrobe and other men of foreign training, McIntire remained a survivor of the old type of the craftsmen-architects who had executed their own designs and counted the fruits even of their creative imagination mainly by the day's labor.

Salem at the end of his life presented a very different aspect from its appearance when he began his work. The churches and public buildings had been rebuilt or remodelled from his designs. Where a solid gambrel-roofed house had been, with one or two exceptions, the height of domestic pretention, rows of tall stately mansions, a great number from McIntire's hand, lined Essex Street, Federal Street and Washington Square. That was no idle phrase when the town clerk called Samuel McIntire, on his death, "the architect of Salem."

Carvings: Buildings, Furniture, and Ships

His contribution to the artistic character of his buildings was, as we have indicated, not limited to the giving of general designs, but included the carving of the rich ornaments to which so much of their beauty is due. Whereas the early Derby accounts speak of him as a carpenter (1784) and a joiner (1794-1796), by these latter years his work was chiefly in carving, as is evidenced by his great bill of £238. 8s. 5d. for interior carving on the Derby mansion. His activity in this respect is further abundantly witnessed by the testimony of his contemporaries, and by the inventory and sales of his estate. Of these architectural carvings, both exterior and interior, we shall speak in detail later in this volume. Certainly they equal in quantity and quality those of any other American carver of his style and generation.

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As his reputation as a carver grew, McIntire also did much carving of furniture, some of it on pieces made in his own shop, more on pieces by other cabinet-makers. To describe or illustrate the individual pieces lies outside the scope of the present work. They will be published in a separate volume. All told over a hundred articles bearing his carvings may be identified with sufficient certainty.⁷ They are, as one would suppose from the period at which McIntire worked, in the styles of Hepplewhite and Sheraton, and reveal that he had access to the published plates of these designers. He did not confine himself, however, to a slavish imitation, but freely combined and modified, introducing liberally the characteristic carved motives which he had made his own. In brilliance, delicacy, and refinement the work is not inferior to that of the young Duncan Phyfe or of the best of the Philadelphia carvers of the Chippendale period, and thus ranks with the finest which has been produced in America.

From the beginning of his career Samuel McIntire was employed also in work on Salem ships.

The earliest items we have found are the following:

Capt Tucker to Joseph Mackintire D'

1776	Aug. 15-	to Worck on Board your Scooner Harliquin	
	Sept. 17	to worck 19 Days @ 5/ p ^r Day	£ 4 : 15 : 0
		to my Brother Samuell worck 14 3/4	3 : 13 : 9
			8 : 8 : 9

Mr. Joshua Ward Dr to Sam McIntyre & Brother

1779	June 28	to 8 & 1/2 work on Boat at £6	£ 51 : 0 : 0
		to working 72 feet uper streak @ 5/ per foot	18 : 10 : 0
		to 80 feet Beading @ 1/6	8 : 0 : 0

Mr. Joshua Ward to Sam. McIntyre

1779	Dec. 22	to 12 days work on Board the Sloop at 10£10/ at same Time R Payt	
		Sam McIntyre	£126

In papers of Elias Hasket Derby are the following items:

1787	Decemr 6th	to the Joiners work on Board the Grand Turk	38 : 10 : 0
		to 10 Gal. W. I. Rum @ 3/8	1 : 16 : 8
1790	Mar	By work on Ship Light Horse Aug ^t 1788 pr bill	£24 : 18 : —
		By Do on Sco ^r Peggy pr do	12 : —
		By Do on b ^d Ship Astrea Dec ^r 18. 1788 pr do	7 : 14 : —
		By carv ^e a knee for Sco ^r Nancy Aug ^t 1789 pr do	1 : 1 : —

⁷ These known up to that time were published by the writer during 1930-32 in a series of papers in *Antiques*, listed in Appendix D.



Figure 4. Joshua Ward House, 148 Washington Street, 1784-1787. Stairs.



Figure 5. Simon Forrester House, 188 Derby Street, 1791. Chimneypiece preserved at the Essex Institute.

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1791	Jan'y	22	To fixing the Joiners work of the ship Astrea & fixing windows &c to a Cariage 90 days 5/6 (Recd. Salem 2 Apr. 1791 of Elias H. Derby the sum of Sixty four Dollars it being in full for my fixing the quarter Gallerys of the Ship Astria)	24:15:—
	Novr	16	To altering ye tops of the quarter galleries & sundry small jobs on the ship Grand Turk To cutting 4 scrowles & making a Binacle for the Brig'a Rose	12:12:— 1: 1:—
	Decr	24	To finishing the Grand Turks Cabin &c's £60 " 10 galls W. I. Rum	2:10 62:10:—

None of these items, we see, necessarily involved elaborate carving. For such work on his *Grand Turk*, Elias Hasket Derby employed in 1791 the Boston craftsmen John and Simeon Skillin, who carved the figurehead and many other ornaments.⁸ In this as in other matters McIntire was quick to learn, and by 1798—even before the death of John Skillin in 1800—he was given the task of adorning another great ship of Derby's, and later made figureheads for ships of other owners.

1798	Decr 4th	to Carving Head with its Bracketts & trail for the New Ship Mount Vernon @ 55 Dollars	\$55
		to carving Starn, Quarter Galleries, Scrowls &c @ 70 Doll	70

Owner of the Brig^t Pompey to Saml McIntire, Dr.

1802	Sept 14th	to Carving the Starn & Quarter pieces	£ 40.0.0
		a Knee measuring 6 feet @ 5/ pr ft.	5.0.0
		pr Catfaces @ 5/ each	[sic] 1.67.0
		4 double Scrowles @ 4/6 each	3.0.0
			£ 49.67.0

Owners of the new Ship Asia, to Sam^{ll} McIntire Dr

1803	Octo 12th	to an 8 & ¾ foot figr head @ 40/ pr foot	\$58:33
		Carving Starn @ 60 Dolls	60:
		Carving, Joinering & puting on Qr Badges	20:
		Cat faces & other finishings 21/-	3: 5
			\$141:83

Late Owners of Ship Derby to Sam^{ll} McIntire Drs

1806	July 23d	To an 8 ft figure head &" (sic) 30/ pr foot	\$40:0:0
		to pr Cat faces @ 12/- & expences	2: :
		to Journey to Boston	5: :
			\$47:0:0

One of McIntire's scrap-books, of which a brochure of engravings of English buildings served as the nucleus, contains five sheets of drawings of taffards for ship-sterns with carved cornucopias, garlands, musical instruments, festoons of drapery and fruit, also one sheet with sketches for the "Belet [billet] head for a ship of 300 Tons," with a drum and flag along the trailboards. Although the name of Joseph McIntire the younger, with the date 1826, is written on the inside cover, some of the sheets are water-marked 1791, and the coherence of all the motives with the

⁸ Bill published by Mabel M. Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 341.

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style of Samuel McIntire indicates that the scrap-book descended from him and that the drawings represent his work. One more drawing of the sort survives on the back of a detail-drawing by him. It shows, in ink, pencil and crayon a variety of sketches for ship-carving: taffards, carved prows, a full figurehead (Figure 359). The motives again constitute a compendium of McIntire's decorative vocabulary, including the inevitable basket and eagle.

It could scarcely be expected that the ship-work represented should survive to-day, or could be identified. So far as the writer is aware, only a single example of ship-carving is preserved for which McIntire's authorship can be maintained, a small figurehead of a woman (Figures 360, 361) holding a medallion portrait.⁹ The attribution derives added support from the similar scheme of a shield borne by the figure in one of the sketches last described.

Sculpture

From carving McIntire was led to essay sculpture in wood, his accustomed material. Although his achievements in this line cannot compare in intrinsic value with those in architecture and decorative carving, he has here the merit of being one of the pioneers.

Little enough had been done in sculpture anywhere in America, less by native talent. Such works as the wooden soldier, carved by Lemuel Beadle in 1712, which stood before the Watch House in Salem, were scarcely surpassed here before the Revolution. For more ambitious figures the colonists in New York and Charleston had recourse to English sculptors. After the war the coming of Joseph Wright, Houdon, and Ceracchi stimulated the art. The ship-carvers essayed independent sculpture. This was notable in the case of William Rush of Philadelphia, a year older than McIntire. Rush carved his first figurehead in 1789, and may have made certain figures and busts in the nineties, although the main body of his work in sculpture began in 1808.¹⁰ The Skillins of Boston supplied Elias Hasket Derby, as early as 1784, with "2 mahogany bustes."¹¹ It was they who carved the four figures ordered for Derby's garden in 1793. Their example must have been a principal stimulus to McIntire. By the time of his death he had executed a considerable number of works both in relief and in the round, and had acquired much local fame as a sculptor.

We cannot be sure at what time he made his first attempts, for some works may be later in date than the buildings they adorn. Possibly the earliest may have been the eagle on the cupola of the Pickman (Derby) house on Washington Street (Figure 63), if this was added at the time of the remodelling of 1786. A bust in

⁹ First reproduced in *Old-Time New England*, XII (1921), 67. ¹⁰ Henri Marceau: *William Rush* (1937).

¹¹ Swan, *op. cit.* 342.

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the broken pediment over the doorway on the stairs of the Assembly-house (Figure 161a) seems probably to be the work of the Skillins.

With the encouragement of Bentley, McIntire undertook in 1798, a bust of John Winthrop, and also made a bust of Voltaire (Figures 362, 363). In 1802-1805 he carved for the Common gates several bas-reliefs now preserved by the Essex Institute (Figures 217, 218, 364). Among them is a profile medallion of Washington based on the etching by Joseph Hiller after that of Joseph Wright (Figure 365). As in all of McIntire's figure sculpture it has a primitive quality of literalness. "Envelopment" there is none; there is notable austerity, even harshness. But, in spite of the many removes from the original, Washington the man is there, dignified and commanding.

Several other eagles in the round, identical in type with that of the Pickman (Derby) house, adorned the Common gateway, the Peirce house and other buildings (Figures 366-371). Eagles in relief formed part of the external ornament of the Custom House (Figure 373) and of Hamilton Hall, of the same form as the smaller ones in mantels of certain houses, all after 1805:

A minor work of the carver, revealing the simple astonishments of those days, is mentioned in an amusing entry of Bentley's diary for September 25, 1807:

Saw an imitation of a wonderful pear which grew in Ipswich. It was carved by McIntire & painted by Corné & was said to be an exact imitation. It might easily be mistaken excepting its size might make suspicion [III, 321].

This curiosity is preserved by the Essex Institute.

Among the effects McIntire left at his death we shall find "1 large head of Washington; Number of Busts of the Poets; 2 figures of Hercules, 2 feet high; 1 head of Franklin," as well as "1 large Book Antique Statues, excellent." Diagrams of the human figure with numerical proportions, preserved in his scrap-book, show the survival of the old academic canons.

Minor Activities

To complete the picture of McIntire's life and work, we may mention here the more prosaic tasks which are recorded, with his larger work, in his surviving bills. As the famous Philadelphia cabinet-makers William Savery and Benjamin Randolph did not disdain to make a slave-coffin or a chicken-coop, McIntire, especially in his early years, turned his hand to anything which had to be made in wood. Thus in his bills against his great patron Elias Hasket Derby we find:

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1784	Jan	10	to mending Slay 3/6 & 3/4 of a days work	£0: 9: 6
		16	to fixing waggon 4 days & 3/4	1: 18: 0
	May	12	to making A Birds house & painting (these three items are in a bill of Joseph McIntire & Brothers, receipted by Samuel).	1: 18: 0
	Nove	1	to mending Garden Fence 6/ & making a seat & Cricket for waggon 7/	1: 13: 0
			to 8/2 paid for 4 Brass roolers for window blinds	8: 2
			to 4/ paid for Screws hinges-Ketch &c painters bills 18/	1: 2: 0
1787	Feby		to making Slay-Top &c at 16	16: 0
	April		to 10 3/4 Days on Martin-house &c at 6/	3: 4: 6

It was characteristic of that day that payments were made by the great Salem merchants to a considerable extent in goods. With Elias Hasket Derby, McIntire evidently had an open account against which he drew in various commodities, with a cash settlement of the balance every year or two. The great quantities of tea found in these accounts were neither all for home consumption nor for sale; it was apparently a medium of exchange, like tobacco in the Southern colonies. The merchant, like a modern banker, was drawn against by bills of exchange such as the following:

SIR:

Please to Deliver the Bearer of this order 25 lbs Bohea tea and charge the Same to an account of your humble servant

SAMUEL MCINTIRE

To Mr. E. H. Derby

Salem Sept. 14, 1790

Such were the everyday tasks and dealings of the substantial craftsman more than a century ago. It is significant of his scrupulous honesty and amiable disposition that we nowhere find him involved in any dispute or suit at law.

Of his chief avocation, music, we get several glimpses in Bentley's diary:

1796. March 22. This evening my instrumental music with me. The Company, Masters Macintire, & Palfrey, & Heard, Becket & a young man, name unknown. They supped with me and were encouraged, I trust [II, 175].

1801. May 10. The several societies in Salem have been induced to encourage Music . . . Macintire teaches for the North Church . . . [II, 372].

1802. April 22. Had the pleasure of seeing & hearing Dr. Oliver's Organ. It is the first ever built in this Town . . . the frame is handsome, exhibiting a front of 5 by 8 feet probably, with pedals, exhibiting the pipes in a central Oval, & with two towers on each side, surmounted with some instruments of music in high relief with good effect. The woodwork was finished by that ingenious mechanic Mr. McIntire [II, 427].

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Another echo of his music is found in an old bill of the time:¹²

Committee of Arangments for the 4th July to S. McIntire Dr
To the use of the Double Bass on that Day [sic] \$ 2 : 0 : 0
Salem 19th July 1805

Received payment
SAML MCINTIRE

Death and Heritage

Samuel McIntire died February 6, 1811, without ever having been more than a few leagues from his native town. On his tombstone in the Charter Street burying-ground we read:

IN MEMORY OF
MR. SAMUEL MCINTIRE,
WHO DIED FEB. 6, 1811;
ÆT. 54

He was distinguished for Genius in Architecture,
Sculpture, and Musick: Modest and sweet Manners
rendered him pleasing: Industry and Integrity
respectable: He professed the Religion of Jesus
in his entrance on manly life; and proved its
excellence by virtuous Principles and unblemished conduct

On the day of his death Bentley writes:

This day Salem is deprived of one of the most ingenious men it had in it. He was descended of a family of Carpenters who had no claims on public favor and was educated at a branch of that business. By attention he soon gained a superiority to all of his occupation and the present Court House, the North and South Meeting houses, and indeed all the improvements of Salem for nearly thirty years past have been under his eye. In Sculpture he had no rival in New England and I possess some specimens which I should not scruple to compare with any I ever saw. To the best of my abilities I encouraged him in this branch. In music he had a good taste and tho' not presuming to be an original composer, he was among our best Judges and most able performers. All the instruments we use he could understand and was the best person to be employed in correcting any defects, or repairing them. He had a fine person, a majestic appearance, calm countenance, great self command and amiable temper. He was welcome but never intruded. He had complained of some obstruction in the chest, but when he died it was unexpectedly. The late increase of workmen in wood has been from the demand for exportation and this has added nothing to the character and reputation of the workman, so that upon the death of Mr. McIntire no man is left to be consulted upon a new plan of execution beyond his bare practice.

¹² Essex Institute. Tucker Papers, 86.

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A brief notice appeared in the *Salem Gazette* the following day:

In this town Mr. Samuel M'Intire, carver, age 54 years—a man very much beloved and sincerely lamented. His funeral will be from his late dwelling house in Summer Street, at 3 o'clock Saturday afternoon, where his relations and friends are requested to attend.

The *Essex Register* for February 9, added a few traits:

In this town, Mr. Samuel M'Intire, aged 54. His talents in architecture, sculpture and music were distinguished. His manners combined suavity, purity and firm character. His industry, usefulness and consistent virtues gave him an uncommon share of the affections of all who knew him. By his own well directed energies he became one of the best of men.

The fullest account followed in the *Gazette* for February 12:

Of the late and lamented Mr. M'Intire necessarily omitted in our last.

Mr. M'Intire was originally bred to the occupation of a housewright, but his vigorous mind soon passed the ordinary limits of his profession, and aspired to the highest departments of the interesting and admirable science of architecture, in which he had advanced with a steady and sure step far beyond most of his countrymen. To a delicate native taste in this art, he had united a high degree of that polish which can only be acquired by an assiduous study of the great classical masters; with whose works, notwithstanding their rarity in this country, Mr. M. had a very intimate acquaintance. His native town (as well as other places) is enriched with many memorials in this art, whose excellences now, alas! only serve to sharpen the regret of the beholder for the loss of their author. He had also made a profession of the kindred art of sculpture, in which he had arrived at a very distinguished rank.

The uncommon native genius of Mr. M. displayed itself in many subjects not connected with his professional pursuits; and in the various objects to which his unerring taste directed him, he never failed of reaching a degree of excellence that would have been honorable to a professed artist. He sometimes employed himself in drawing; he had an admirable musical taste, and was a good performer of instrumental as well as vocal music. Thoroughly acquainted with the principles of various musical instruments, in the construction of them, particularly the organ, the most harmonious of all, he was directed by an ear of exquisite nicety, and an exactness of mechanism that ensured success. Even on subjects of literature his casual observations evinced a degree of knowledge that surprised all who were acquainted with the variety of his professional and other pursuits. To these attainments (and these, notwithstanding he had been obliged to struggle against the want of an early education, were not all he possessed) he united an unaffected native politeness, and a mildness of deportment, which delighted all who enjoyed his acquaintance. With these rare endowments of the mind, he possessed the best feelings of the heart; and his exertions in the cause of humanity (in rescuing a child from drowning) probably laid the foundation of that disease which had afflicted him for many years, and terminated his life. Conspicuous among all these excellences shone his unassuming modesty, his sterling integrity and his ardent piety.

Life

A quiet, dignified, competent, accomplished man; a life not without one episode of heroism, which clearly he would have been the last to call by that name.

He died intestate. In the Essex Probate Records (1819) we find this inventory of his estate:

The Mansion House & Shop with the Land under & adjoining	\$3000.00
Half of a Pew in Dr. Barnard's Meeting House . . . at \$50 . . .	25.00
	3025.00

Personal Estate — viz.

a large Hand Organ w ^h 10 barrels	200
14 Chairs 1.50	21.00
1 Music D ^o 2.00	2.00
a Table with Draws	1.50
a Lot of wood Screws	50.00
a Pine Book Case	4.00
a Set of Rees' Encyclopoedia	60.00
one Vol. Palladios' Architecture	10.00
one D ^o Ware's D ^o	8.00
a Vol. of Architecture by Langley	2.00
D ^o D ^o by Paine	2.00
Dictionary of Arts & Sciences 1 Vol. folio	6.00
a Book of Sculpture	10.00
2 Vol. French Architecture	4.00
4 D ^o News Papers	1.00
1 D ^o new Version of New Testament	1.00
2 D ^o Willich's Lectures	1.50
4 D ^o Goldsmith's Animated Nature, 1.00 each	4.00
1 D ^o Josephus History	1.00
1 D ^o Sandy's Travels	.50
1 Vol. Lock Hospital (Music)	2.00
Handel's Messiah (D ^o)	1.00
a Lot of Music Books	5.00
a D ^o of Small D ^o D ^o	2.00
2 Books of Draughts	1.00
10 large Prints	2.00
12 Prints of the Seasons	1.00
2 Cases of Drawing Instruments & a Box of Paints	8.00
a Box containing 4 Picture planes	4.00
2 Mahagony Travelling Desks . . 4 \$ ea —	8.00
2 large Plaister of Paris figures	5.00

In Front Chamber

6 Chairs	50c	3.00
a Birch Bureau	1.00	1.00
a pair of Fire Buckets	2	2.00
a Fire Arm complete		6.00
3 Swords	2 \$ the lot	2.00

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

In Back Chamber

a Bed, Bedding & Bedstead		20.00
a Mohogany Bureau		4.00
6 Chairs	80c	4.80
1 Easy D ^o	8 \$	8.00
a pair Brass Andirons Shovel & tongs &c		7.00
a Double Bass (musical instrument)		25.00
a Violin & case		1.00
9 Plaister of Paris figures		7.00
a Bedstead and Matrass	3.00	3.00
a Carpet	2.00	2.00

In Front Room below

a Gilt Looking Glass		30.00
8 Chairs \$8.00 a Spinnet \$15.00		23.00
a Carpet \$25.00 an 8 day Clock Mohogany Case \$45.00		70.00
China Closet & Plate		24.00
2 tables & a Light Stand		6.00
3 Plaister figures, pictures &c		5.00

Kitchen

a Looking Glass, wood frame		1.50
an 8 day clock (Birch Case)		35.00
a Birch Desk		2.00
6 Chairs \$3.00 a small table 1.00		4.00
a pair Andirons Shovel & tongs (Iron)		2.50
a Carpet 50c Bedstead & Bedding \$22.00		22.50
Pantry Utensils		10.00
The Wearing Apparel of the Deceased		36.00
a Lot of Sheets say 8 pair		12.00
a pair D ^o (tow)		4.00
a lot of Pillow Cases		2.00
a lot of table linen		4.00
2 chests & meal D ^o	3.00	3.00
Utensils in Kitchen Closet		5.00
a Silver Watch	16.00	16.00
a Lot of pictures		5.00
Sundry articles in cellar		25.00
Scales and Weights		2.00
A Lot of Shovels & Hoes		1.50

Sundry Articles in shop and shop furniture viz:

300 Chisels & Gouges	10c	30.00
4 axes & adze	the lot \$5	5.00
4 Work Benches		12.00
a large Iron Stove		20.00
2 Grind Stones	3 ea	6.00
46 Moulding Planes	50 ea	23.00

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7 Saws	60c ea	4.20
a Bit Stock & Bits	8.00	8.00
4 Capitals the lot	3.00	3.00
20 large Planes	.50 ea	10.00
8 medalions of Washington		2.00
a lot of Hammers	1.00	1.00
a D° of Angers	1.00	1.00
A Franklin Head & post		3.00
29 feet Ton timber		4.00
1000 d° seasoned stuff		25.00
3 pairs Screws	2.00	6.00
a lot of wood & Bed D°		3.00
a d° whet Stones		3.00
a D° Composition Ornaments & Draws		35.00
a Bench Vise & small hand D°		2.00
a lot of Tools & Screws		6.00
A Draw of Screws & Brads		.50
a lot of Carved Leaves		2.00
a D° of Mates, Compasses & Squares		1.00
6th Glue	15c	.90
Sundry pieces Lumber & parcel of Peat		4.00
an Organ Chest		5.00
Sundries in shop Chamber		10.00
		<u>\$1110.90</u>
Sundry notes payable to Said Estate, viz	}	
Branch Religious Society, dated Dec. 25th		
1804, signed by Dan ^l Farrington as Treasurer		
and in their Behalf for \$120 & Interest \$45.40		165.40
considered doubtful		
Benj ^a Dodge's Note of Jan ^y 1, 1806 for \$700,	}	
with 2 years Interest \$84 due as per note		784.00
Thomas Needham's D° for \$14.42 dated March 17th current		14.42
		<u>\$2074.72</u>
Salem March 21st 1811	}	
ELIZABETH MCINTIRE		
Sworn Adm ^r		
ABIJAH NORTHEY	}	Committee
JONATHAN WALDO		Sworn
BENJ. DODGE		

It was a substantial estate for a craftsman of that day, which bears witness to prudent management and comfortable circumstances.

Many of these articles were offered for sale by advertisements in the *Salem Gazette*, April 30 and May 3, 1811:

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

FOR SALE

Sundry Articles belonging to the estate of Samuel M'Intire, deceased, —VIZ.

1 elegant Barrel Organ, 6 feet high, 10 barrels;
1 wind chest for an organ;
Encyclopedia complete;
Paladia Architecture, best kind;
1 Ware's do; 1 Paine's do.
2 vols. French Architecture
1 large Book Antique Statues, excellent;
Lock Hospital Collection of Music;
Handel's Messiah in score;
Magdalen Hymns; Massachusetts Compiler;
1 excellent toned Spinnet
1 eight day Clock, Mahogany case;
12 prints of the Seasons;
1 book drawings of Ships;
1 large head of Washington;
Number of Busts of the Poets;
2 Figures of Hercules, 2 feet high;
1 Head of Franklin, and Pillar for a Sign;
Composition ornaments;
Number of Moulding Planes and
sundry other Articles. Apply to
Elizabeth M'Intire Adm'x
or to Samuel F. M'Intire Att'y

N. B. The subscriber carries on Carving as usual at the Shop of the deceased, in Summer Street where he will be glad to receive orders in that line. He returns thanks for past favors. April 30, 1811.

SAMUEL F. M'INTIRE.

Samuel McIntire's wife survived him four years, her will being proved October 31, 1815 (Probate Records: 18100). The inventory of her estate, November 15, 1815, shows that many of her husband's musical instruments had remained unsold in her possession.

The son, who had married Hannah Hammonds January 15, 1804, and who had continued the business as we have seen, appears in deeds and probate records of 1811-1819 as a carver. He advertised April 18, 1815:

Samuel F. M'Intire
Carver, Cheap Side, Summer Street

Ship Heads, Festoons for Sterns
Tablets and Blockings for Chimney Pieces
Brackets, Draperies, Pottres for Frizes
Eagles, from 5 inches to 2 feet 6
A variety of Figures. Butter and Cake Stamps
Furniture Carving and Bellows tops

Life

After his mother's death that autumn, when he seems to have removed to his father's house on Summer Street, which her death had vacated, he advertised:

*Next Friday at 10 o'clock,
Will be sold at Auction, at the Dwelling House lately occupied
by Mr. Samuel M^cIntire, in Hamilton Street,¹³*

A variety of Carved Ornaments, viz:

Eagles, from 1 to 2 1-2 feet high—Busts and Figures for the same—1 elegant Grape Frize, 5 feet long and 7 inches wide—1 elegant Swag Flowers—Tablets—Puttres (i.e. pateras)—and a variety of other ornaments too numerous to mention, and can be examined before the sale.

At 11 o'clock

The above Dwelling House, nearly new, 16 by 24 feet, with a Brick Cellar under the same, and a Pantry adjoining, 9 by 12 feet, standing on land of Mr. Robert Wallis, together with two years lease of the land. Terms and other particulars made known at the sale.

THORNDIKE DELAND, *Auct^r*

That the name of McIntire had come, by his day, to enjoy somewhat more than local fame is shown by a memorandum and inquiry addressed to Ichabod Nichols of Salem from James Sheafe of Portsmouth, with notes of the answer:

Two Corinthian Capitals for an out side Fore Door
The Columns will stand on a ground the Neck touching
The length of Capitals 10¼ Inches
Diameter at the extreme of Astragal 9 Inches
“ at the extreme Points of abacus 13 ⅛ In.
Corinthian 5 Dollars an Inch across the top of the collum
Mock Ditto \$1.66 1/5 Inch ditto

Portsmouth 18 March 1817

Will you my dr Sir inquire of a Mr McIntyre a Carver in Salem when and at what price he could carve for me the 2 Capitals as above and what the weight would be as 20 to 30 lb—might come in a rough box p stage

7.25
2.75
2.75

12.75

I will write him in answer when I hear
from you what he can do.

Yr with gt regard

JAMES SHEAFE

Samuel Field McIntire died “of intemperance” September 27, 1819, leaving his wife (*d.* 1862) and five young children.¹⁴

¹³ The deeds make clear that this house on Hamilton Street was one which had been occupied by Samuel Field McIntire, not by his father, for the younger man conveyed the house on Hamilton Street “being the same in which I lately resided,” to the executor of his mother's estate (*Essex Deeds* 225:99, November 28, 1815). Again when the executor sold the Hamilton Street house to Wallis in 1820, it is described as “being the same which was lately occupied by Samuel F. McIntire of Salem, carver, deceased and now occupied by the widow of said McIntire” (225:100).

¹⁴ For some letters of one of them, with other data on her descendants, cf. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIV (1938), 361–363.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

The inventory of his estate, November 25, 1819, mentions, beside personal effects, a "lot of carvers tools \$5, 1 Work bench and screw 1.50." The great stock left by his father had evidently been much reduced.

Samuel McIntire's brother Joseph (*d.* 1825), who lived on Norman Street, had continued active as a carpenter or housewright,¹⁵ and with his son Joseph, Jr., baptized 1779, appears as such in probate records of 1811 and 1814. In contemporary documents we find this elder Joseph mentioned but once in connection with carving, in a bill of August 12, 1801,¹⁶ apparently for the ornaments of a fence:

Mr. Weight [Waite] to Joseph McIntire Dr

to carving 6 capitals at 10/	£ 3:0:0
to carving 6 capitals at 7/6	2:5:0
	£ 5:5:0

The only other reference to him as a carver is by J. B. Felt, who in the second edition of his *Annals of Salem* (1845), gives this appellation also to the son, then still living. We may conclude that they took up carving more actively only after the death of Samuel and his son, in the effort to supply the dearth and retain a lucrative family business. When V. G. Spofford wrote in 1884¹⁷ of the Pickering Dodge (Shreve) house, on which he worked in 1822, "Samuel Macintire was our Carver," he must have meant one of the Josephs. The younger of them will have been the maker of the following bill in possession of the Peabody Museum, Salem:

Capt. Shreves to Joseph McIntire jr.

15 Dec. 1823	to carving & Starne Molding	
	Brig Washington	\$20.—
	Recived pamnt	
	JOSEPH MCINTIRE JNR.	
	12 January 1826	

He lived at 6 Chestnut Street,¹⁸ and died September 21, 1852. The advertisement of his effects¹⁹ is as follows:

¹⁵ He worked as such on the Derby mansion. Bentley, in referring to Samuel October 8, 1802 (II, 452), added "His brother executes the work at Allen's farm." He had previously written of this, August 12 (II, 443): "Capt. Allen is enlarging his farm house on the neck. A new story has been put upon the farmer's end. And another is preparing for the Hall & a kitchen is to be added. Many ornaments are talked of." As we shall see, Joseph worked also on the Salem Custom House of 1805.

¹⁶ Essex Institute. Augustus D. Rogers Papers. VIII, 20. The work concerned has not been identified. The capitals of the Custom House, built in 1818-1819, were carved by his son Joseph, Jr.

¹⁷ Scrap-book of F. H. Lee, Essex Institute.

¹⁸ This property had been conveyed to Joseph McIntire, Jr., "housewright" by Daniel Clarke, May 17, 1805 (Deeds 177:6).

¹⁹ Advertisement in *Salem Gazette*, October 15 and 19, 1852.

Life

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE

Stock & Tools of a Carver

On Wednesday, October 20 (1852) at 10 o'clock, will be sold by Public Auction, at the dwelling house of the late Mr. Joseph McIntire, in Chestnut street, ALL THE ARTICLES OF CARVING left by him, (finished and unfinished,) consisting of Capitals for columns, in the several orders of architecture; Billet Heads; Stern Ornaments; carved eagles, of several sizes; Medallions; Pilasters; Arches; Rosettes; Mantel & Bureau Ornaments, &c, &c, &c.

Also—about 25 volumes of Architectural Books, some of them rare and valuable.

Also—some Furniture, Boxes, Tables, Chests, Drawers, valuable Carpenter's and Carver's Tools, a quantity of Seasoned Stock, 2 Bass Viols, &c, &c.

Terms cash on delivery.

The late John Robinson has left an interesting reminiscence of the final dispersal of their effects, some of which may have survived from the time of Samuel McIntire:

It must have been on the afternoon of October 19, 1852, that I went with my mother to look over the shop of Joseph McIntire, No. 6 Chestnut St., Salem, to see the various things which were to be sold at auction the next day. Curiosity had drawn quite a large number of persons there to see the objects which the last of a family of carpenters, architects and carvers had left behind. The building as I remember it was of two stories and the work room where the objects for sale were mostly deposited was on the front lower floor, the eastern side of the building, a bench seemed to be placed at the southern side of the room by the street window or windows (whether there were one or two I do not remember). Above the bench was a row of tools, chisels and the like²⁰ and some planes near-by, probably moulding-planes also. At the right (west) of the southern window were eight or ten carved wooden eagles, about the size of Robins, with spreading wings, varying somewhat in size and form, but not very much. Beyond them, in the corner of the room, was a model of the South Church then standing above, next door but one, on Chestnut St. (Can it be the bird-house now at the Institute formerly owned by Edwin Peabody and before that in the yard on Summer St. of James Ferguson the painter?) The model was about three feet high to the top of the spire as I recall it. There were other objects in the room such as boards, chests and things connected with the carpenter's trade, but I do not definitely recall anything in particular, only being interested, as a child naturally would be, in the eagles and the model of the church. As I remember it the house was an ordinary old fashioned dwelling or shop, unpainted. At the time of my visit I must have been six years and three months old.

Thus ended the dynasty of craftsmen of which Samuel McIntire was the chief ornament.

²⁰ These tools of the McIntires are preserved by the Essex Institute.

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Types and Elements

McINTIRE falls historically into the group of men who transformed the architecture of the North after the Revolution, prior to the advent there of classic revivalism. In New England, Bulfinch, at Boston, was the pioneer from whom the leaders in the smaller centers derived their inspiration. Of these latter McIntire at Salem was the earliest and in many ways the most gifted, anticipating the similar achievements of John Holden Greene in Providence, David Hoadley in New Haven and Alexander Parris in Portland, and even those, independent of Bulfinch, of John McComb in New York.

McIntire's designs, traditional in their academic symmetry, show an intuitive sense of proportion. At first uniformly heavy, with bold projections as in the Peirce house, his work came, in the fronts of the Lyman and Assembly-houses, to a measured elegance, and those of the Gardner, Little and Tucker houses to a slender refinement. His detail, always of academic correctness, came, before the austerity of the last years set in, to have a lavish opulence. In the interiors, within the established scheme, the combinations of decorative elements, relatively few in number, show an endlessly fertile variety. The most ambitious façades in their respective styles — those of the Peirce house and the Derby mansion — show, more than the others, a touch of the self-taught designer, which adds a charm of naïveté to their conscious magnificence.

Houses and their Dependencies

The Plan, Mass and Space

McIntire's houses were from the beginning of a mass generally cubical, three stories high, except for those in the country, with a level cornice all about. The gambrel roof, favorite of an earlier day, he never employed. Even a gable, as a termination of the main roof, appears but once, in his own unpretentious dwelling. All his other houses had the hip-roof, so that the horizontal line of the cornice was continuous and the roof receded as much as possible from view. In this he pursued the trend of the time elsewhere in America, without going to the extreme of attempting the flat roof, which, in spite of many efforts, could not be built successfully in those days.

Modifications in the rectangular mass were secondary and chiefly made for practical reasons. Only in the Derby mansion (Figure 136) and the Lyman house (Figure 93) where, in Bulfinch's manner, a central oval salon projected toward

Style

the garden and in the rounded ends of a design for a business block were any curved forms introduced on the exterior.

Most of McIntire's house plans followed the familiar New England scheme of four rooms divided by a stair-hall from front to back, the variations within this being of little importance. Smaller houses had two rooms in front with an ell for the kitchen behind one of them. It was not uncommon, especially on narrow lots in streets which ran north and south, to face the main block south with its end to the street, the kitchen continuing in line with it in a wing toward the rear.

It was only in the houses in which Bulfinch had a hand, or which betray his direct influence, that more sophisticated plans were attempted, with consideration for varied interior effects. The Lyman house has a clear hall leading to the oval salon at the rear; a corridor traversing the house lengthwise, to reach the wing, contains the stairs. In the Derby mansion the stair-hall, lighted from the top, with rounded ends, is placed centrally in the house, between the entrance hall and the oval salon. Thus is created a fine sequence of contrasting spatial forms, only surpassed in America by the rich suites at The Woodlands in Philadelphia.

In all McIntire's houses the upper floors carry through on a level, so that we do not find in his suites the differences in the height of rooms with which Bulfinch further varied his spatial effects.

The focal feature of each room was ordinarily the fireplace, in the center of one wall. At first the chimneys were usually placed in the partitions between front and rear rooms, later, especially in brick houses, they were built in the outer walls, giving the possibility, realized in the Read and Gardner houses, of large double doors between the parlors. In only a few rooms was it practicable to place the entrance door on the axis of the fireplace, so that it was rare to find a room of the perfect symmetry of two or three in the Derby mansion.

The Exterior

On the façade the general arrangement of elements rarely varied. A width of five bays was practically universal, with uniform rectangular windows somewhat narrower than the piers between. The inequality of horizontal spacing not unusual in older colonial houses was eliminated or reduced to a very slight increase at the center, the ideal being perfect uniformity. In the vertical spacing a sharp reduction in the height of the upper story and of its windows was usual.

In two works of the early period, the Peirce and Pickman (Derby) houses, McIntire retained the scheme of certain more monumental colonial houses, a great pilaster at each corner (Figures 1, 57). During the first years of the Adam influence, in a few houses of exceptional richness, he used the classic orders more lib-

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

erally, above an architectural basement of one story. In the Lyman house (Figure 7) there was a range of coupled Ionic pilasters with single ones at the end; in the summer-house at the Derby farm (Figure 8), a temple-like treatment of the same order; in the Assembly-house (Figure 188), a central pavilion with four pairs of Ionic pilasters and a pediment; in the Derby mansion (Figure 135), six tall Corinthian pilasters rising through the two upper stories. In the Hersey Derby house (Figure 177) Bulfinch's design for a similar treatment was followed.

Aside from these, McIntire treated his façades with the greatest simplicity. Quoins at the corners in some early works, an occasional plain band at one or more floor levels, and a rich cornice were the only memberings beside the windows and the central doorway, on which fell the principal accent.

McIntire's doorways were studied with a care befitting their importance in the design. Some frame of the classic orders was universal. In the early work it was always of the Doric order, detailed with a fidelity to the academic canons which marks them off from other Salem work. The characteristic form, seen at the Peirce house (Figure 21) and several others, was a small pedimented portico of two full columns, with three-quarter columns, not mere pilasters, against the wall. A triglyph frieze with mutules gives added richness and dignity to the porches of the Peirce, the Pickman (Derby), the Forrester, and the Orne houses. The enclosed porches at the side doors of the Peirce and Boardman houses have a similar treatment, but with fluted pilasters and dentilled cornices. The door-portico which McIntire added to the Stearns house (Figure 84), where its position on the street did not admit engaged columns next the wall, was elaborated by the addition of fluted pilasters at either side of the main projection. This example also shows a triglyph frieze and mutules.

For the Derby house by the wharf (Figures 17-19), McIntire early designed a more monumental door-portico with a front of four columns, and his Court-house (Figure 54) had a two-story portico with superposed orders, Doric and Ionic, but in his houses actually executed no such features are to be found.

When McIntire took up the Adam style, other motives more in consonance with its lightness and grace replaced these. First the doorway itself received side-lights and a fan-light. This treatment, first used by the brothers Adam, was shown by Bulfinch in his design for the Derby mansion (Figure 114), and analogous features had been used by him in the Barrell and Russell houses which McIntire knew. He promptly adopted it in the Nathan Read house. The fan-light here, as in the Derby mansion, was of elliptical form, to which McIntire remained true in later examples. The mullions and transom were simple bars. The doorway of the Derby mansion as executed had a slender columnar order on the mullions, as Bul-



Figure 6. Nathan Read House, 134 Essex Street, 1793. Demolished 1857.



Figure 7. Lyman House, Waltham, begun 1793. Photograph before 1880.
Courtesy of Ogden Colman.

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finch's designs had suggested, but this treatment is not found again in McIntire's work, and was only taken up in other Salem houses after his death. Rarely did he ornament the bars in any manner: with flutings on the transom at the Tucker house (Figure 293), with carved festoons in the Samuel Cook doorway (Figure 227).

The door-porticoes also underwent a change. In the Read house (Figure 6), his first in the new manner, McIntire had the happy idea of using a porch like the great semi-circular portico of Bulfinch's Barrell house, but much reduced in size. Such small semi-circular porticoes remained characteristic, appearing with varied detail in many examples. At the Read house and, later, the Little house (Figure 282), the order was Ionic, at the Clifford Crowninshield and Dow houses a slender Tuscan (Figures 256, 287), at the Gardner house Corinthian (Figure 12), at the Tucker house Composite (Figure 293). These last two porticoes were further enriched by added pilasters at either side. In a few of his last houses McIntire returned to the rectangular door-portico, treated now more lightly than of old, with slender Tuscan columns which announce the approach of the classic revival.

In the doorways added to older houses during his Adam period McIntire gave richness through other forms of treatment. At the Assembly-house (Figure 158) he simulated side-lights by panels between mullions carved with Adam husks. The enclosed porch added to the Pickman house on Essex Street (Figure 208), of octagonal form, again had reeded pilasters and a festooned frieze.

The windows in McIntire's houses rarely departed from a rectangular form. In one or two unexecuted designs a Palladian window is indicated, and there was one in the rear façade of the Salem Court-house (as well as one at each end of McIntire's competitive design for the Capitol), but there are none in the houses actually built. A window with arched head in the rear hall of the Peirce house is highly exceptional. The early wooden houses of academic style often show some formal elaboration of the window-casings by friezes and cornices: in the Peirce house and the Pickman (Derby) house it extends to those of all three stories. The same was true of the Read house, first of the new dispensation. Later anything of this sort was more rare: at Oak Hill the windows of the ground story had friezes and cornices; at the Samuel Cook house, those of the second story. In the brick houses the narrow window frames, according to Adam practice, were sunk in the jambs without architrave. For such windows McIntire employed a flat arch, actually or apparently of stone, generally with a doubly-profiled keystone. In such a late work as the Benjamin Williams Crowninshield house the keystone disappears in the general simplification.

McIntire's cornices followed the general evolution of his style. All but the latest were of wood. At first they were heavily moulded. In the Pickman (Derby) re-

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modelling, above the Ionic order, square modillions were introduced, and these were used in the richer designs until near the end of McIntire's life. At the last they were abandoned and the cornice was again of simple wooden mouldings or, in the Dow and Felt houses, of brick.

Before McIntire's day it had been characteristic of the finest houses to have the deck of the roof railed with a balustrade, and such a feature appears in a number of his early works. With the general disposition to suppress the appearance of roofs, however, a balustrade at the eaves made its appearance. First employed by McIntire in the two most important houses of his earlier career, the Peirce and Pickman (Derby) houses, it became characteristic of his middle period. Toward the last, however, it again tended to disappear, and is found in none of the latest works. In a few instances Chinese lattice, instead of moulded balusters, was used in these railings.

The Interior

It is the interior detail of McIntire's houses, which shows him at his best, which has most contributed to his reputation. Ordinarily its richness was achieved only by the elaboration of the functional elements themselves, the fireplaces, doors, windows, and cornices, but in a few cases there was a larger formal treatment.

When McIntire began his work tradition still prescribed that the wall about the fireplace should be entirely panelled. Such a panelled wall with mantel and overmantel and doorways, we find in the older, western parlor of the Peirce house (Figure 24). At the Forrester house, where the chimney was in an outer wall, the plane of the panelled chimneybreast was carried across a window recess by an arch, as in certain colonial rooms. It was the idea of such a treatment which survived in the parlors of the Assembly-house (Figure 160) and of the Peirce house (Figure 37), where symmetrical recesses at either side of the chimneybreast were framed by pilasters and entablatures.

Of central importance in McIntire's interiors was the chimneypiece, which best illustrates the general evolution of his forms of detail. Few examples survive from his early period, all with large overmantel panels. They follow colonial tradition in having heavy architraves with ears. At the Peirce house there are boldly curved friezes, like those shown in Langley's *Treasury* (Figure 25), which supplied the details for the exterior. At the Forrester house, which, still unfinished in 1791, begins to anticipate McIntire's later style, the frieze is flat with projecting end-blocks beneath pilasters which frame the overmantel (Figure 5).

The form and details of McIntire's mantels after 1793 were doubtless first suggested by those of Bulfinch's early houses. The first of them, in the Barrell and

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Russell houses in Charlestown, no longer exist, but we can form an idea of them from those of the Harrison Gray Otis house on Cambridge Street, Boston. They have the opening flanked by pilasters, a broad frieze broken forward over the pilasters. Beside these end-blocks, the frieze has a center panel framed by a small moulding. Such mantels are also shown in Pain's *Practical House Carpenter* and *British Palladio* (Figures 142, 201, 202), books which, as certain details of the Derby mansion show, McIntire acquired soon after he took up the Adam style. Long before 1790 an overmantel would have been an anachronism in England, and Pain showed no examples of a chimneypiece with one,¹ but McIntire fortunately did not realize at first that this feature was outmoded, and designed a number of very beautiful examples on the analogy of the mantels themselves.

In McIntire's mantels there is great simplicity and clarity of disposition. The capitals of the pilasters are generally aligned with the frame of the main opening. When columns are substituted a low architrave is introduced. The architrave may be reeded, the pilasters reeded or panelled. The cornice ordinarily follows the canonical classic form, the principal opportunity for enrichment or variety being in the bed-mouldings. Here we find many different forms of dentils: sometimes the plain square type, sometimes the fret dentil, already long in use in America, sometimes certain more fanciful types. Some of these latter McIntire used very early, as in the mantels of the Assembly-house and in the Derby mansion; others were later adopted. A type which we may call the split dentil, with a vertical flute on the face and a horizontal flute on either side, appears in late works by Samuel McIntire and in others, after 1811, which are apparently by his son. In the surviving mantel of the Derby mansion (Figure 151), and in the Gardner house, 1805, we find a type of tall convex dentils with shorter flutes between, which had been illustrated in Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, first published in 1796. Other enrichments frequently found in this period are small delicate spiral ropes or ribbons adorning a bead, and fine reedings on an ovolo. In general it may be said that between 1793 and 1808 McIntire's details undergo little substantial transformation, but ring the manifold changes on a limited repertory of motives.

In his last houses a new influence appears in the details of McIntire's work. In 1806 was published in Boston *The American Builder's Companion; or a New System of Architecture particularly adapted to the present style of Building in the United States . . . by Asher Benjamin, Architect and Carpenter, and Daniel Raynerd, Architect and Stucco Worker*. Benjamin's earlier book *The Country Builder's Assistant* under Bulfinch's influence, first published in Greenfield in 1796, and reissued in Boston in 1797,

¹ In America, Owen Biddle in his "Young Carpenter's Assistant," 2d ed., 1810, states that "continued chimneypieces" are no longer used, and even the first edition, 1805, shows none.

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1798, 1800 and 1805, had borrowed much from William Pain's *Practical Builder*, an English work of which an American edition (the fourth) had been published in Boston in 1792, but added other designs which reflect the influence of Bulfinch. *The American Builder's Companion* was more original, with "fancy cornices" (Figure 289) ornamented with guttae, balls, and other somewhat bizarre elements. It was printed with the recommendation of a committee of the Boston Housewright Society (dated September 8, 1806) and will thus naturally have carried much weight with the builders of the neighboring towns. We shall find that this book was the source of a number of details in the work of Samuel McIntire's last years, and in his son's work.

It is in the plates signed by Raynerd that many of the innovations appear. He was himself no stranger to Salem, having executed stucco-work for the Derby mansion in 1797. From the details of the William Gray house, under construction between 1801 and 1804,² before the *American Builder's Companion* was published, yet identical in style with it, one may presume that he may have been employed on that house also, and that thus an example of the new style was visible in Salem itself.

All the houses of 1808 and thereafter show the new features to some degree, but they may best be studied in the Woodbridge house (Figures 303-309). Here the mantels have a thin block, projecting much beyond the rest of the bed-moulding, on the under side of the corona — a detail frequently shown by Benjamin and Raynerd. Two mantels in the house have a row of large beads or balls at the top of the bed-mould as in Plate XIII of the *Companion*. The tapered, reeded pilaster, resembling fascies, not hitherto found in McIntire's work, was perhaps suggested by a somewhat similar motive on Plate xxviii.

It is only in this latest period of McIntire's work that we find small coupled columns — as in a plate of the *American Builder's Companion* — in place of the pilasters at either side of the fireplace. No documented instances, indeed, are known, but the feature occurs in mantels with carving which we must attribute to McIntire: in the parlor of the Lindall house (Figure 340) and in the Joseph Tufts house at Peabody (Figure 339) — both with the columns closely spaced. It was from the same publication, Plate xxv, by Raynerd, that McIntire derived the motif of a cloth swag supporting a mass of fruit, as in the Lindall mantel and in many of McIntire's furniture carvings (Figure 341).

Another device in McIntire's later houses, new to his work and found in Ben-

² Bentley records the removal of the Sun Tavern which occupied the site February 12, 1801 (II, 365). The new house must have been built soon afterwards as Margaret Holyoke notes October 9, 1804 "Mr. Grays three chimneys were blown down" ("Holyoke Diaries," 145).

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jamin's books, is the plain flat sinkage, usually of lozenge or oval form, used to decorate a flat band. This occurs on the architrave of one of the mantels of the Woodbridge house, and on the dentil band of one in the Felt house.

Such features, combined with others not found in Samuel McIntire's designs, carry over into the work of his son, which we shall discuss below.

In defining the character of McIntire's detail one may remark also features not found in it. Although groups of flutings occasionally occur, there is no such large use of gouge-work as is familiar in the Merrimac Valley, in Philadelphia, and some other centers. Most noteworthy is the total absence of the use of the drill, so frequently employed elsewhere, and even in Salem. In no single instance of wood-work which we can surely associate with Samuel McIntire do we find drilled holes, either to enrich the dentil band of a cornice, or to suggest the elements of a festoon, as is familiar in much work of the period.

The style of other interior elements shows the same evolution as that of the mantels. The doorways were at first heavily Georgian, some of those of the Peirce house having caps with an elaborate bed-mould of dentils and egg-and-dart. The doorways on the stair-landings of the Ward and Forrester houses (Figures 5, 74) show a broken pediment, a feature which survives, somewhat anomalously, in a doorway with pilasters on the landing at the Assembly-house (Figure 161a). With the adoption of the Adam style the friezes and cornices of doorways received a treatment like those of the mantels, usually with end-blocks. Sometimes the architraves were flanked by pilasters, or, in the Derby mansion and at Oak Hill (Figures 139, 195, 197), by half-pilasters as was shown in Pain's *Practical House Carpenter* (Figure 141).

Few examples occur of any elaborate window treatment. The windows of the older parlor at the Peirce house have seats in the colonial manner (Figure 27), and their architraves, extending to the room cornice, have this broken out over them to make a cap. Later no seats were introduced, but the dado-cap was generally carried about the window embrasure.

The cornices of rooms remained of wood, relatively simple, until after 1793. For the oval room of the Derby mansion a full Corinthian cornice with scroll modillions was adopted for execution in stucco (Figure 143). The Assembly-house parlor (Figure 160) had a plain entablature of wood, but in the remodelled Peirce parlor (Figure 37) this was enriched with reeded triglyphs, the metopes at the Peirce house being further adorned with rosettes, which reappear in the parlor cornice of the Butman house. At Oak Hill the parlor had a similar treatment, with pateras in the panels, the morning-room a continuously reeded frieze (Figures 191, 198). The Hersey Derby house had in its principal rooms cornices and

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friezes of stucco. In the Gardner house the parlor has a stucco cornice with flat modillions; the hall, one of wood with small curved brackets, closely similar in form to one shown in Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, and this was reproduced in the Clifford Crowninshield parlor. A cornice with the brackets carved in leaf form, suggested by Plates VII and XIV of the *American Builder's Companion*, was used in the Dow house. At the Woodbridge house the cornice of the principal parlor (Figure 309) is composed of elements drawn from the same work, Plate XIII.

McIntire's early rooms have a solid wooden dado with moulded cap and base. After 1793, while he sometimes retained this treatment in a lighter form, he frequently marked the dado-cap on the plaster wall just by a surbase. The surbase was often ornamented: by reedings or groups of flutings, or by a fret, by alternate reedings and rosettes. In the Samuel Cook parlor (Figure 223) there is a delicate interlace of bands and pellets; in the Woodbridge parlor a more elaborate one of bands alone. In the latest house, for Benjamin Williams Crowninshield, sunken motives appear, under the influence of Asher Benjamin's books, here taking the form of scalloped ovals.

The stairways of McIntire's early houses present a common and characteristic pattern. In place of the twisted balusters and newels which had remained fashionable in New England since the time of the Hancock house, they had small Doric columns (Figures 4, 51, 73). In the front stairs of the fine mansions these are stout, almost of canonical Doric proportions; in the stairs of McIntire's own house (Figure 70) and in the back stairs elsewhere they are more slender. In cramped back stairs the closed string was retained from the style of an earlier time, but in the principal stairways there were long square panelled blockings which profiled on the soffit. The only stairway before 1793 which has curved brackets, themselves very simple, is McIntire's own. The wall opposite the balustrade had customarily a panelled dado, but in the Boardman house (Figure 51) McIntire adopted the rich treatment of repeating the balustrade by half-balusters against the wall. In all cases there was a heavy handrail with easings at the newels.

In contrast with the early staircases, which had always straight strings, the later stairs, following the example of Bulfinch, often had curved runs, or curved junctions at the landings. The stairs of the Derby mansion had large semi-circular turns; those of the Hersey Derby house, as Bulfinch planned, swept upward in a large half-circle (Figure 180); as did those of the Clifford Crowninshield house (1804-1806). In the Butman house (1806-1807), the stair-well made a full circle (Figure 276). In the Gardner house, where the main run remained straight, the steps made a quadrant at the top; in the new stairs of the remodelled Assembly- and Peirce houses at least the rail continued unbroken in a semi-circle.

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With this greater grace in general form went minor changes in the direction of lightness and delicacy. Curved brackets at the ends of the steps were everywhere employed. The Assembly-house and Peirce stairs have solid brackets relieved by groups of flutings (Figures 161, 31). The Hersey Derby and later front stairs have the scrolls of the bracket merely outlined by a flat band. At the Assembly-house, earliest of the surviving examples in the new style, there are moulded balusters of a conventional profile; in the Hersey Derby and Peirce houses, on the contrary, there are very simple sticks, round and square respectively. Among these, in the Peirce stair-rail, is introduced at each alternate step a sawn interlace reminiscent of Chinese lattice. Similar sawn motives, but narrower, were used in the Gardner house stairway (Figure 13). In the Samuel Cook house, McIntire reverted to the type of the Doric column, now very slender, but in other houses of the mature and late periods we find only plain square sticks, until after McIntire's death.

Stables and Summer-Houses

In the design of the stables which accompanied his houses, McIntire achieved very admirable effects.

Many of the eighteenth-century books on architecture showed designs for stables, following the general scheme evolved by William Kent in the Royal Mews.

The earliest of McIntire's surviving stables seems to be that of the Jerathmeel Peirce house (Figures 42-44), which will fall, like the house itself, in the early eighties. It is of extreme weight, with massive archivolt and keystones. The composition of the front is in five parts: central and end pavilions of smooth boarding with pediments and semi-circular surface arches; clapboarded connecting links with doors to floor and mow. On the garden side, unbroken, there is a single great central arch.

Related to this in proportion is a stable design with two quoined and pedimented pavilions, a single great arch to the coach house in the connecting block — all of heavy proportion (Figure 20). In view of the scale of magnificence indicated by this design, at such an early date, we may not be wrong in surmising that it was intended for the stable of the Derby "house by the wharf."

A magnificent stable in McIntire's early style formerly stood behind the Joseph Sprague house at 376 Essex Street (Figure 156).

Although McIntire's house (1793) for Theodore Lyman in Waltham already shows the influence of Bulfinch's style, the stable (Figure 109) there still has, in its single, central pavilion, the massive archivolt and keystone of McIntire's earlier work. The cornice, however, is lighter, and a new motive appears, the segmental arch of the large doors at either end of the clapboarded façade.

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At the Derby mansion, 1795-1799, Bulfinch's sketch (Figure 115) for the balancing stables and offices was adapted by McIntire in simpler form (Figure 147). The wall surfaces were entirely of flush boarding, with shallow blind arches, without architraves, framing openings above and below the imposts. Pediments were abandoned, the long sides show an unbroken arcade.

Arches filled with lattice fronted the outbuildings of the Orne house, 1795 (Figure 153).

About 1800 Bulfinch gave a further model for outbuildings of the Adam style in his designs for the Ezekiel Hersey Derby house (Figure 171). A range of light open elliptical arches screen the offices. A detached coach house facing the street had a single large circular arch with narrow architrave. In the execution, McIntire added at the end of the offices a stable with a pedimented central pavilion of flush boarding framing a large blind arch (Figure 177).

From the time of the remodelling of the Jerathmeel Peirce house, about 1801, comes an addition to its offices, framing the stable court on the east. Three open elliptical arches pierce the smooth boarded wall to the court, a blind arch of the same form lightens the south wall, without openings, toward the street.

At the Ezekiel Hersey Derby place in South Salem, some time after 1800, McIntire adorned the large simple barn with carved garlands framing an elliptical window over the door (Figure 210).

From the same general period comes the great barn at the Derby farm in Peabody, with its three pediments and five great elliptical arches (Figures 328, 329). Attached to the house there are offices in the style which had now become usual with McIntire.

An unidentified design of about 1802-1803, possibly for a stable (Figure 219), shows a high roof with pedimented dormer and a treatment of quoins at the corners reminiscent of the wings of the Lyman house.

At the Pickman house on Essex Street was a stable, shown on an old lithograph (Figure 203), with a large central arch and small flanking arched doors.

The beautiful stable built for John Derby in 1803, after he took over the old Pickman house at 70 Washington Street, is among the finest of McIntire's compositions (Figure 64). On the narrow front an elliptical arch, within the pediment, spans the coach door and a segmental window above it. On the broad piers at either side are festoons of drapery, and other festoons mark the side at each bay.

A similar stable, narrow toward the street, but higher, with a window above the arched door, looks out past the Samuel Cook house to the street.

At the Clifford Crowninshield house, 1804-1806, were extensive outbuildings. The clapboard stable (Figure 257), with an arch somewhat heavily framed for

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this period, was flanked by officers with blind arcades, one terminating in a little shop, entered from the grounds by a pedimented doorway and turning show windows to the side street.

In McIntire's last years he built at the Dow house a charming range of offices with delicate round arches leading to a stable of his now conventional type (Figure 287).

Such stables are found also in several instances where McIntire's connection with the work cannot be definitely established: at the Thomas Whittridge house, at 376 Essex Street, at 25 Chestnut Street (with twin arches), at 361 Essex Street, and at 23 Summer Street.

The two beautiful summer-houses for Elias Hasket Derby at the farm and at the famous mansion were not the only garden structures by McIntire. Eliza Southgate, when at the John Derbys in 1802, mentions a "very handsome summer house" in their garden; and Bentley on a walk to Castle Hill in 1809, saw a "small summer house of two small square stories, the upper of smaller dimensions," erected by E. Hersey Derby, who had bought the farm there in 1803. These, long destroyed, will both probably have been from designs by McIntire. In the garden of the Peirce house is a simple wooden arch spanning the main path, and similar arches are mentioned by Eliza Southgate in the garden of the Derby farm in South Danvers, now Peabody.

Fences and Gates

Among the most attractive features of old Salem were the white-painted wooden fences which adorned the streets of its fine mansions. They were characteristically of vertical spindles, piercing the broader horizontal rails supported by stout square posts. Whether any of those built before the Revolution had the formal development afterwards given them we cannot tell. It is difficult, too, to define their later evolution, as, with one exception, it happens that where the fences themselves remain we have no documents for them, and that the surviving drawings and bills refer to fences which have perished — replaced in many instances, by those of granite and cast iron popular in the nineteenth century.

The earliest documentary reference we have to such a fence is an item for a design for one in McIntire's bill against Elias Hasket Derby, January 11, 1792. This would have been for the remodelled Pickman house on Court (Washington) Street, then occupied by the great merchant. Its fence was replaced by one of iron in the early nineteenth century. There is a possibility that this design is the one reproduced in connection with the house (Figure 61), at least that one is of an earlier, more heavily academic character than any other of McIntire's fences, and may be

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supposed to antedate his adoption of the Adam style in 1793. Pairs of Tuscan pilasters face the heavy posts, with full entablatures bearing large spheres. Between the tall main spindles are shorter ones alternating — an arrangement not uncommon, but not found elsewhere in McIntire's work.

Bulfinch, in his perspective design for the Derby mansion (1795, Figure 117), showed urns on the posts, and a segmental curve to the gate, which gave McIntire suggestions for his later fences, although the one he executed at the mansion itself, having "8 Capitals," differed from Bulfinch's drawing. Such urns, apparently carved by McIntire, adorned the fence of the Orne house, which may be from 1798 (Figures 153, 154). That of the Jerathmeel Peirce house, with its tall festooned urns and curved gate (Figure 46) will have been executed after this, about the time of the remodelling of the interior of the house. It is continued at the side by Chinese lattice, unique among McIntire's fences. The fence of the Samuel Cook house (1802-1803) the only existing example for which McIntire's design survives, is the most elaborate of all (Figures 221, 227). In its general lines, as in its gate (as designed) and the type of urn, it follows Bulfinch's proposed Derby fence, but the posts are enriched with carving: flutings on the corona, rosettes in the frieze, and a pendant of husks in the panelled die.

Fences with similar urns formerly existed at the Ezekiel Hersey Derby house, as well as at the Joseph Sprague house, 376 Essex Street, and at 25 Chestnut Street. The Sprague fence (now at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers), had unfluted Ionic pilasters on the face of its posts, the entablature breaking over them (Figures 156, 157). At 25 Chestnut Street (Figure 332) the post was similar, but with fluted pilasters.³ The Clifford Crowninshield fence, *c.* 1804-1806, is unique in having, at intervals among the spindles, graceful curved pierced motives related to certain of McIntire's later stair-rails (Figure 256). This fence formerly curved in at either side of the entrance. Insofar, it offers analogy with an unidentified design of McIntire in which the whole fence was plotted on a shallow concave ellipse (Figure 331). The posts here are adorned with Doric columns and their triglyphs. At the Enoch Dow house, *c.* 1809, the piers again have Ionic pilasters (Figure 287). They are crowned by large spheres with a horizontal band having sinkages, circular and lozenge shaped, as in some of McIntire's later dado-caps.

Of the fences for which McIntire billed the ornaments to Gideon Tucker in 1804 and 1809 nothing now remains. The former, with its "festoons and pattireas" must have had posts very similar to those at the Samuel Cook house.

McIntire's most ambitious gateways were those for the Common, on its transformation into Washington Square (Figures 214-218). The western gate was in

³ The present fence is modern, but one of the posts, since renewed, shows in a photograph of 1886.

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the form of an elliptical arch on piers supported by large consoles. Above the arch was a medallion of Washington hung with festoons and the whole was crowned by a carved eagle. The medallion, with carved trophies which also adorned the gates, will be considered with McIntire's work in sculpture.

Public Buildings

McIntire's designs for public buildings are so few in number as scarcely to form a class capable of analysis. There are only the Salem Court-house (Figures 54, 55) and the Capitol design (Figures 79-83), themselves very disparate in scale and accommodations. They are alike, however, in representing the academic tradition of English eighteenth-century architecture. In each case a portico dominates the front. The frontispiece of the Court-house has the older form of orders superposed, Ionic pilasters continuing the effect of the Doric columns below; that of the Capitol, itself spanning the two upper stories, rises from above a tall architectural basement. In each of these porticoes the space between the central pair of columns is wider than the others, as usually in academic practice prior to the classical purism of Burlington and his followers. Arched openings are introduced in the central positions, contrasting with the pedimented frames at either side. In the Capitol a single use is made of the tabernacle frame with columns, unique in McIntire's work. Whereas the Court-house has a simple cornice, with an architrave and frieze over the portico only, in the Capitol a full entablature reigns all about.

Churches

McIntire, as we have seen, was concerned with four churches, of which but two were entirely from his design.

All three, as they left his hands, conformed on the exterior to what had become, in America as in England, the ultimately prevailing type—with a tower at one end of the mass, crowned by a steeple or cupola. The North Church, an existing, older building, already had a narrow tower, and McIntire's work consisted only of substituting a belfry for the tall steeple taken down as insecure in 1796 (Figures 162, 163). Bulfinch had previously taken the initiative in the twin square belfries of his first church, the old Hollis Street Church in Boston, built in 1782. McIntire's belfry was octagonal, but like Bulfinch's in being without an order, a simple arched opening with an impost, pierced in each side.

As to the design of the South Church (1803-1804), we know that McIntire was sent to see the churches at Newburyport and at Exeter, New Hampshire. The

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reputation of these had already been reflected in Bentley's diary. Of Exeter he wrote September 12, 1801: "The new Church is the most elegant in the state" (II, 391), in Newburyport, October 2, "In Cary's new [meeting] house I should have preferred the front of the Exeter gallery to their own with all its ornaments . . . the house cannot display such a front as the Exeter & the Steeple is not yet finished" (II, 395), and September 13, 1803: "The Steeple of the first Church lately built rivals anything in New England . . . Their churches are better than our own" (III, 44).

The church at Exeter built in 1798 by Ebenezer Clifford, was remarkable in having the entire façade adorned with orders of pilasters in two stories, Tuscan and Doric, but in its general form it preserved the arrangement of the meeting-house type, with the entrance porch and even the tower on one of the long sides. The position and shape of the lot in Salem by themselves precluded this, and McIntire will, in any case, have recognized that the scheme was out of date.

It was the scheme of the church in Newburyport, dedicated in 1801 — a distant derivative of the favorite English model, St. Martin-in-the-Fields' — which he followed very closely indeed. The tower rises above a pedimented vestibule, somewhat narrower than the church itself, its front adorned with tall pilasters which are repeated on the corners of the church. The square tower rises in a single tall plain story up to the belfry stage (Figure 233). Here, somewhat set back, is a square belfry, each face treated with a triumphal-arch motive — pairs of Doric pilasters flanking a single large arch. Above come two diminishing octagonal stories: the lower with round arches and Ionic columns standing free at each corner; the upper with pointed arches. Still above this rises a tall, pointed, octagonal spire. So far the description would apply equally to both buildings.

There are, however, a number of subtle differences. The main order of the Salem church (Figure 10) is made Ionic, with proportions more sturdy than those of the attenuated Doric pilasters and Corinthian cornice of the one in Newburyport. Particularly, in McIntire's steeple (Figure 232), the upper octagonal stage is larger and the transition to the spire less abrupt, so that there is a general suavity of diminution which makes the model appear somewhat crudely naïve.

The steeple which McIntire added in 1805 to the Tabernacle Church (Figures 263, 264) was on the old, very narrow tower. As at the East Church, the old "dome and belfry" of the Tabernacle had been carried away by a gale, so it is not surprising that McIntire eschewed a spire, and proposed to place a domed circular stage above the new square belfry. His design shows the corners of the belfry cut off at the angles, on which are pairs of Ionic pilasters. In the executed work, however, he seems to have placed pilasters on each main face, which had a square

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projection, and to have made the upper stage octagonal. The slender proportions harmonized well with those of the tower, with fine aspiring effect.

All told, McIntire cannot be said to have made, in his churches, any substantially new contributions to the types already prevailing in New England, but within these types he did give examples of more than ordinary grace and elegance.

Carvings and Composition Ornaments

In McIntire's early, academic period there was generally but little carved ornament. On the exterior of his early houses the Doric order was mainly used; perhaps the only carving was in the Ionic capitals of the upper portico of the Court-house and of the pilasters added in remodelling the Pickman house on Washington Street for Elias Hasket Derby. In the older parlor of the Peirce house the only carving is a simple egg-and-dart. The chimneypiece of the Simon Forrester house (Figure 5) is the sole surviving example we have of rich carving by McIntire in his earlier years. The frieze has undulating stems with serrated leaves and rose-like flowers branching either way from a central urn, still of early-Georgian profile. The rosettes on the blocks at either end suggest sun-flowers. Two pilasters which frame the panel of the overmantel have pendants of the same leaves and flowers with fruit, suspended by ribbons tied in lovers'-knots.

With McIntire's adoption of the Adam style in 1793 the Corinthian and Ionic orders were preferred, and the occasions for ornament multiplied. The Derby mansion was the most richly adorned. The items for exterior carving listed in McIntire's bill mounted to £156. 12s. 6d. The front of the Assembly-house had a row of Ionic pilasters, the Nathan Read house, the Gardner, Little, and Tucker houses, circular porticoes with carved capitals. The Derby summer-house, the Hersey Derby façade, and several other buildings showed festoons of drapery. The fences of the Samuel Cook house and others gave opportunity for carved urns and pendants. Several exterior doorways showed baskets of fruit and festoons with fruit and flowers. The large eagles of Hamilton Hall and other buildings we shall discuss with McIntire's work in sculpture.

It was in the effort to approximate the internal decoration of the Adam style that McIntire was led to develop his richest carvings, which adorn the mantels and doorways of his houses erected from 1793 onwards. In England such details had been popularized by moulding them and casting them in composition, and such composition ornaments, imported, had been doubtless used by Bulfinch in his first houses, which McIntire examined so closely, as they were in the house Bulfinch built for Harrison Gray Otis on Cambridge Street shortly after. Sufficient im-

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ported ornaments seem not to have been available on short notice for the Nathan Read house, the first which McIntire undertook in the new manner, although one mantel there had them. If this was indeed the situation, it was a blessing in disguise, for it will have stimulated him to supply the lack with his own carvings. Henceforth he continued to employ them side by side with ornaments in composition. The motives McIntire employed for these carvings, though typical of the style, became individually characteristic of his work not only through the frequency with which he used certain of them, but through the personal form which he gave them.

His favorite, rarely found in the carving of others, was doubtless the basket of fruit and flowers first used in the center frieze panels of the Read house and then in many of his later works. In all the multitude of apparent repetitions, one finds that no two examples are quite alike. The baskets may be plaited, reeded, or fluted; their bases may be level, or treated as if seen from above or from below. Their contents, always unsymmetrical in arrangement, included, beside pears and other fruits of their general size, clusters of grapes, roses and leafage, and ears of wheat. One or more sprays fell over the rim of the basket in front to break the line. In the Gardner house footed "dishes of fruit" occasionally replace the baskets — those of the twin mantels of the double parlor being closely similiar, but not identical.

In a mantel of the Clifford Crowninshield house, 1804-1806, we find in the center panel a charming trophy of musical instruments (Figure 15). McIntire's use of this motive (long a favorite in France) goes back to 1802 when he carved the case of Dr. Oliver's organ, of which Bentley recorded, as we have seen, that it was "surmounted with some instruments of music in high relief." As a reference, he pasted in one of his scrap-books a vignette of this character from a title of the play, *The Wonder*, then in vogue, but the details of the Crowninshield trophy are quite different, suggesting rather those of the small trophy on McIntire's bust of Voltaire and its English prototype.

Of all the carved motives the most striking is the eagle. For this also McIntire found suggestion in a woodcut which he pasted in his scrap-book (Figure 372). The eagle, with wings displayed, holds in one claw an olive branch, in the other a sheaf of arrows. This he followed, with considerable freedom, in the center panels of two mantels, one in the Registry of Deeds, 1807 (Figure 278) the other one added to the Joseph Hosmer house some years after its building (Figure 337). Another example at this scale, salvaged from a source which cannot now be identified, was installed for some years in the Joseph Cabot house, and is now at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers.

In certain instances a carved festoon of drapery replaces the festoon of composi-

Style

tion in the friezes of doorways and chimneypieces. The northeast chamber of the Derby mansion in its entablature, of which a portion survives (Figure 150), had forty of these draperies. In a mantel which McIntire appears to have carved for the Timothy Lindall house (Figure 340) the festoons bear in their folds a mass of his characteristic fruit and flowers.

The columns of at least one mantel at the Derby mansion (Figure 151) were garlanded with spiral sprays of grape, and those of two at the Gardner house have sprays of laurel (Figure 249). The grape pendants falling from horns of plenty in mantels and overmantels from Oak Hill (Figures 9, 200), some apparently the work of Samuel McIntire, others of his son, add further to the repertory of his carved motives.

That McIntire, beside his carvings, made use of composition ornaments, we know not only from his surviving works beginning in 1793, but from several documentary references. In the inventory of the Elias Hasket Derby mansion, taken after his death in 1799 we find "Two boxes & One Basket Composition \$75," and "One Box Composition ornaments broken sets \$20"—large sums for this inventory. In the inventory of McIntire's own estate after his death we find a "lot composition ornaments and Draws \$35." In a few instances such ornaments will have been cast from moulds he carved himself, as in a bill for the Derby mansion we find an item "to making a pattern to cast some roses from," but more often they were made elsewhere, usually abroad.

This we conclude from the diffusion of identical examples in England and at widely separated points in the United States. Thus the characteristic wheat sheaf is found in London on a mantel at the Paragon, Blackheath.⁴ The Muse with a lyre, which adorns the mantels of the Peirce and Felt houses, occurs also at Vernon and The Lilacs in Philadelphia, and in a house at 74 Prospect Street, Newport. The reclining figure of Plenty with a cornucopia, found in the Peirce, Hersey Derby and other Salem houses, appears again in the Blackford house in Fairfax County, Virginia, and elsewhere. Similar identities can be found for the minor motives of composition. Not a Salem origin for all these, but a common source abroad, is to be inferred.

Such ornaments were also made in America for sale. Mary Rawlins of Baltimore advertised as early as 1788 that she carried on her husband's business in this line, and from 1793 there were many advertisements in Philadelphia, first of imported ornaments and then of ornaments made there.⁵ Stokes, a carver, who adver-

⁴ S. C. Ramsay: "Small Houses of the Late Georgian Period," II (1923), Plate LXVI.

⁵ A. C. Prime: "The Arts and Crafts in Philadelphia, Maryland and South Carolina," series II (1932), 315-319.

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tised in Salem in 1800, stated that he also kept composition work for chimney-pieces, "cornishes," etc., made by Corp & Company, of Boston.⁶ It may be doubted, however, if McIntire made any considerable use of these, as most of his motives continued to be the same as those used before domestic ornaments were on the market.

The first appearance of composition ornaments in McIntire's work was in mantels of the Nathan Read house, 1793, of the Assembly-house and of the Derby mansion, between 1795 and 1798. Their arrangement follows the characteristic scheme already exemplified in William Pain's books and in Bulfinch's work, a festoon held by lovers'-knots, with some small ornament above it, on each side of the frieze between the center panel and the end-blocks.

Sometimes the festoon was a leafy one, with berries or small clusters of grape, with or without a rosette at the bottom of the curve; sometimes it was of flower-like husks. The ornaments placed above the festoon include small dishes and baskets of fruit, crossed cornucopias, and rosettes.

The end-blocks, when of composition, show a variety of recurring motives; vases of flowers (three types), urns with festoons of drapery, classical tripods, small harp-shaped trophies, and three types of classic female figures.

It was in the center panels of the mantels that McIntire most frequently placed his own carvings, but center panels of composition are by no means rare in his work. Few instances occur of composition urns or floral ornaments in this position; it was the chief opportunity to use figural reliefs of classical subjects, which Bulfinch had early adopted. The simplest, a reclining figure of Plenty with her cornucopia and an attendant cherub was the one first and most frequently used by McIntire. It could be found in an oval, perhaps with attendant scrolls. Other groups filled out a rectangular panel. Five types in all occur, some in a single example, some in two: a plowman, a shepherd with his flock, a river god, and two compositions of reclining female figures and playing cherubs.

The panelled pilasters of the mantelpieces often show pendant motives of composition repeating those of the festoons above. In the pilasters flanking two doorways at Oak Hill (Figures 195, 196) the pendants, punctuated by small trophies of musical instruments, are of an almost incredible delicacy, as are the borders of overmantel panels at the Peirce house and at Oak Hill.

In a few mantels and doors the corona was enriched with a band of minute composition ornament, festoons, anthemion, or leafage — a final touch of delicate elaboration.

⁶ H. W. Belknap: "Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County" (1927), 82.

McIntire's Influence

IT was natural that Samuel McIntire's style, which, in both its earlier and its mature phases, involved many innovations for Salem, should have found imitation there.

The Early Style

The anonymous simplicity of houses having little elaborate detail and the customary collaboration of several workmen leave uncertain, in a number of instances, whether McIntire himself had any part in their building or whether they merely represent his influence, or the style of the time. Thus the Jonathan Harraden house at 32-34 Charter Street is almost identical in its general exterior design with the Joshua Ward house for which McIntire executed the interior woodwork in 1784-1787, but its own interior is much injured, the stairs are gone, and there is nothing to support an attribution to McIntire. In the George Cabot house in Beverly both the stairs and the mantels, while having a general similarity to McIntire's work, show differences from it which exclude his own authorship. The Walter Price Bartlett house, which formerly stood at 133 Essex Street, built in 1790,¹ might from its general style and proportions, its quoined corners, have been designed by McIntire, but the detail was modified out of recognition in the Victorian period.² Many enclosed porches of this period — those of the Richard Derby (Ward) and the "Grimshawe" house, for instance — are superficially similar to the richer and bolder ones by McIntire at the Jerathmeel Peirce house and the Boardman house. It may be questioned, however, whether these other porches followed his, or whether his were not rather glorifications of a prevailing type.

Several other houses in Salem have a character like that of McIntire's early works, so that we might suspect them to be his own were it not that their dates fall well beyond his abandonment of their style, about 1793. The house built about 1800³ by Samuel G. Derby at 5 Barton Square, later known as the Lander house, and the one built by Amos Towne about 1804⁴ at 15 Chestnut Street both conform externally to the model of such works as the Boardman and Forrester houses. Their

¹ Benjamin Pickman gives the date in his "Account of Houses . . . in Salem," written in 1793. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, IV (1864), 93.

² The only clue we have as to the interior is the statement that a certain fireboard from it, preserved by the Essex Institute, "came from a McIntire mantel."

³ Derby purchased the first shallow parcel of land May 15, 1797 (Deeds 164:72), and deepened it by two purchases of March 17, 1800 (166:193) and August 14, 1800 (168:16). He will certainly have begun the house by that year before departing on a voyage to the East Indies from which he returned June 5, 1802, shortly before his wife's death on August 12 (Bentley II, 335, 434, 443).

⁴ Towne bought the land without buildings for \$607 September 10, 1803 (173:31) and sold it for \$5000 "with dwelling house and other buildings" July 15, 1805 (181:68).

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pedimented Doric doorways have the triglyph frieze and the three-quarter columns against the wall which McIntire had been alone in employing in Salem before 1790. The house built by Joseph Hosmer, 80 Washington Square, raised May 2, 1795,⁵ to which a mantel by McIntire was added about 1807, is one of many houses which have the general character of his early work without such a detailed resemblance as to be deceptive. Both the front doorway and the side porch, for instance, lack the grammatical correctness which marked McIntire's use of the classic orders.

The influence of McIntire's early style in the Salem *hinterland* appears notably in the Kittredge house at North Andover, some dozen miles from Salem.⁶ It was built in obvious imitation of the Jerathmeel Peirce house. Bentley visited it on March 29, 1789 and spoke of it with admiration (I, 120). The resemblance to the Peirce house is very close, extending to the corniced windows of the two principal stories and to the pedimented door-portico. The spacing of the windows of the front, however, is less regular, and the eaves-balustrade is replaced by one about the deck — two points in which there is reversion to the style of an earlier day. The stairway, with its columnar balusters and newel preserves the general character which that of the Peirce house must have had before its remodelling. On the landing is an arched doorway with pilasters. Like the Peirce house, this house has some added features of the later, Adam period, and one mantel has some authentic McIntire carvings which we illustrate, obviously applied by another hand.

A similar, though later house, is the Baldwin house in North Woburn, Middlesex County, again about twelve miles from Salem.⁷ The great Doric pilasters still mark the corners of the square mass, but the doorway, with an elliptical fan-light, and the Adam ornaments of the interior indicate a date substantially after 1790.

The Mature Style

Although, as we have shown, the academic tradition lingered in Salem until after 1800, the Adam style, in the local formulation which McIntire had given it, began to be taken up by others there about that date. We may confine ourselves to a few of the more concrete instances. Among the square houses built on Chestnut Street, in the years following, several (Numbers 17, 21, 23, 25, 39) have the semi-circular door-porticoes which McIntire had first adopted, and a similar feature is found at the Nathan Pierce house (Salem Hospital) on Charter Street, so like in still

⁵ Bentley, II, 135.

⁶ The exterior is illustrated in *The White Pine Series*, III, ii, 11, the hall, in M. H. Northend's "Colonial Houses and their Furnishings" (1912), Plate xxiii.

⁷ Some sketches were published in the *American Architect*, November 26, 1887.

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other regards to McIntire's Gardner house. The Thomas Whittridge house and stable at 144-146 Federal Street (on land bought in 1799) also show close relationships with McIntire's work. Other stables of the familiar McIntire type are found at 23 Summer Street and 361 Essex Street.

Interior treatment on the order of McIntire's also become common, and many examples show a close similarity to his work — for instance the John Dodge house, 4 Andover Street, remodelled about 1808.⁸ With no carvings and none but composition ornaments, readily available, it does not justify an attribution to McIntire himself. The situation is the same at the Burrill house, 385 Essex Street, now owned by Grace Church, also with circular stairs, where the parlor is similarly treated. This house and the Whittridge house have the split dentils found from about 1808 in houses built by Samuel McIntire, and in work by his son. Thus the interior woodwork added by Tobias Davis about 1805 to his house at 18 Summer Street shows reeded pilasters, cornices with groups of reedings, overdoors and mantels with composition ornaments, some of them from the same moulds as those used by McIntire. Others of these ornaments, however, as well as many details are totally foreign to McIntire's own work. The fine Adam mantels now incorporated in the Merchants National Bank, later additions to two pre-Revolutionary houses — the John Appleton (Choate) house formerly on the site and the Alden house in Turner Street — have the grammatical form of McIntire's, but depart from his work in the choice of decorative motives. Much more strikingly different in disposition from McIntire's are the mantels of the Lambert or Archer house at 10 Carlton Street, which again show familiar motives in the applied ornament.

When we go no further than the excellent house of Samuel Fowler in Danversport, we find in mantels there the disposition we know in McIntire's simpler ones, but a very different section in the mouldings — particularly the broad quirked ovolo never found in McIntire's work. Such was the local range of conformity to McIntire's style and of departure from it in his lifetime.

Beyond Salem and its immediate environment we are only justified in exceptional instances in referring similarities to his influence. They are due rather to the general movement of style, and, after about 1795, to the pervasive influence of Bulfinch's work. It is at first surprising to see how narrow this "immediate environment" of Salem was. When we read Bentley's diary, however, we realize not only the isolation of nearby communities in those days of poor communication, but the intense local pride and jealousy which made even Marblehead, four miles from

⁸ This simple house of early type, was built on land bought by Dodge in 1794 (158:83), but the staircase is of the type of the Clifford Crowninshield and Butman houses (1804-1807), and the house would appear to have been remodelled after that period, perhaps when it was sold to Lucius Bolles in 1808 (183:224).

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Salem, a separate entity. "Indeed," Bentley wrote on one occasion (III, 346), "no parts of the State are less known to each other than the different parts of the County of Essex."

The Later Style

Work of Samuel Field McIntire

The most immediate influence of Samuel McIntire was, naturally enough, on his own son, whose work deserves a brief separate treatment.

Samuel Field McIntire, as we have seen, worked with his father as a carver and continued the business for eight years after his father's death. Even before this, in 1810, he billed John Derby for a tablet for a chimneypiece, added to the Derby house on Washington Street. In 1813-1814, according to the bill published in this volume, he added many exterior and interior embellishments to the elder craftsman's work at Oak Hill. The possibility of identifying the son's style of carving depends chiefly on this bill, which is considered in detail in our discussion of this house. Among the items which can be unequivocally identified are the eagles (Figure 188) — standing at rest, with the wings nearly vertical — unlike the treatments given these motives in Samuel McIntire's own work.

With such indications we can attribute with probability to Samuel Field McIntire the decoration of several Salem houses, some of which are credited by Messrs. Cousins and Riley in their *Woodcarver of Salem* to Samuel McIntire, but which were actually executed or completed after his death, and differ in style from his work. These houses and their dates as established by deeds and tax records are:

- 1811 Robert Cook (Kimball) house, 14 Pickman Street (Figures 348, 349, 352, 353)
- 1811-1812 Joseph Fenno houses (Woman's Friend Society), Hawthorne Boulevard (Figures 350, 354, 355)
- 1813-1815 Robert Cook (Millet) house, 12 Pickman Street (Figure 356)
- Details of the Ebenezer Shillaber house, 128-130 Federal Street (Figures 351, 357)

A house very similar to the first of these was the Treadwell house, later owned by Roland Baker, on Warren Street, but this was destroyed in the Salem fire of 1913 and no photographs of the exterior or interior are known to survive.

In the first three of these houses are four mantels, generally similar to one another, each having as the central feature a sunken oval medallion with a trophy of arms (based on one of the elder McIntire's reliefs of 1801 for the Common gates), the shield in the center bearing an upright eagle similar to those we have noted at Oak Hill. The carving in these trophies is weaker than in the father's work, the folds of the draperies less significant. All but one of these mantels are remarkable

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in having, at the corners, beyond the pilasters which frame the fireplace opening, columns and their entablatures standing almost free. The pilasters are then repeated on the sides of the chimneybreast. The columns themselves are of the Doric order, with a very characteristic fancy fluting.

The end-blocks of these mantels also have sunken oval medallions, a feature shown in one of the plates of Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*. Those of the second Cook house are vacant; those of the Fenno house have wheat sheaves differing but slightly from those of the elder McIntire, but those of the earlier Cook house are ornamented with carved motives not found in his work. They comprise a standing spray of grape and a narrow fluted vase.

The detail of the mouldings and their ornaments, in these mantels, also differs from that in Samuel McIntire's characteristic work. In general, like the father's last works, it is influenced by the plates of the *American Builder's Companion*, but it makes use of further elements drawn from that source. For the crown moulding an ovolo, never used by Samuel in that position, is sometimes employed. In one mantel there is no crown moulding, but a row of large beads or balls is let into the face of the corona, as in Plate xxviii of the *Companion*. In several instances a row of guttae forms the principal feature of the bed-moulding, as on Plate xiii.

The Robert Cook (Kimball) house has a mantel of another type, with horizontal flutings in the pilasters, dentils made by large auger holes, and rosettes of eight smooth leaves filling the oval sinkages of the end-blocks.⁹ The second Robert Cook house has in a front chamber a simple mantel only distinguished by the fluted dentils from the work of Samuel McIntire.

Other features of these houses are also of interest, like the dado-caps of the Cook and Fenno parlors, with their alternate oval and lozenge sinkages. The staircases of the earlier Cook house and of the Fenno house follow a full circle, as in some of Samuel McIntire's houses after 1806, and are adorned with pearled and twisted beads. The exterior doorway of this house is also notable. It has side-lights only, the space above the transom being occupied by three rectangular panels. On the transom and mullions are festoons of husks not unlike those used in a similar position in the Samuel Cook house and elsewhere.

The narrow fluted vase motive, identical in form with those of one of the Cook mantels, and again within a sunken oval, appears in doorheads of the Ebenezer Shillaber house at 128-130 Federal Street, the decoration of which we may thus consider to be also the work of Samuel Field McIntire, though the house itself was

⁹ A mantel said to have come from the house at 4 Pickman Street also has this feature. It was Number 477 in the King Hooper sale of the National Art Galleries, December 3-5, 1931. It appears to be also by Samuel Field McIntire, although the eagle follows the type established by his father.

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built in 1800-1801. A mantel in one of the eastern rooms has small coupled Doric columns below and others, very short, opposite the frieze, with large beads in the bed-mould. The west parlor is treated in the manner of the Adam one at the Jerathmeel Peirce house, with pilasters framing the alcoves on either side of the fireplace. The dentils of the cornice are of a type illustrated in Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*. Large double doors with reeded architraves and friezes and the same type of dentils opened from the parlor to the room behind. Their casings have half-pilasters with oval sinkages in the frieze.

Whether the general designs of any of these houses were drawn by Samuel Field McIntire we are unable to determine, as no drawings by his hand have hitherto come to light.

It is interesting to speculate whether Samuel Field McIntire may not have done some of his work as a carver on buildings of which the general design and construction were in the hands of David Lord, the chief Salem builder in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In general we have little information as to what buildings Lord erected, aside from the fine late house he built in 1822-1823 for Pickering Dodge on Chestnut Street.¹⁰ We do know, however, that among a number of houses he built for sale was the double house at the corner of Pickman and Milk Streets, under construction in 1806-1807.¹¹ The house is strikingly similar in disposition to the Joseph Fenno house, for which, as we have seen, Samuel Field McIntire carved a mantel. Possibly that house also was built by Lord, who may in this and other instances have employed the younger McIntire as a carver.

In all these and many works by others it was the influence of Samuel McIntire which had fixed the characteristic type of Salem house. After his death, for the remaining generation of the city's maritime prosperity, it was repeated with what are relatively but slight variations. The later fine square brick houses of Chestnut Street and Washington Square do not depart from it essentially, although first a greater elaboration of their porches, doorways and Palladian windows, then an increasing Greek austerity, reflect the subsequent evolution of style.

The more complete embodiment of this later evolution was not to be found in Salem, but in the buildings of the new capital in Washington and in the commercial and financial centers elsewhere — Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore — with which Salem no longer kept pace. Fortunate it is for our artistic heritage that this was true, and that the architecture of Salem remains essentially as McIntire left it.

¹⁰ See the document in Kimball: "Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies" (1922), 293.

¹¹ Lord bought the land without buildings August 5, 1806 (179:57) and sold it in two parcels, bounded by "the middle of the brick dwelling house," October 1, 1806 (181:5) and September 8, 1807 (181:285).

Works in Architecture of Samuel McIntire

The houses are listed chronologically under the name of their first owner.

All buildings are in Salem unless otherwise stated.

Interiors of the John Hathorne House

Essex Street. 1778–1779

THE earliest record we have of work by Samuel McIntire is in the house of John Hathorne on the south side of Essex Street near the corner of Court (Washington Street). This house had been built by Daniel Cheever after 1764 when the land was conveyed without buildings (111:229). The westerly half was sold by him to Hathorne, his brother-in-law, April 13, 1776 (134:188). The deeds make clear that this was the second house from Court (Washington) Street.

A receipt of January 13, 1778–1779 in the Hathorne Papers (III, 130), reads as follows:

We the subscriber have Recvd of John Hathorne Ninety pounds Lawful Money for funishing [*sic*] three rooms and two stair Cases in his house he bought of Daniel Cheever for which we are to receive Ninety pounds more as witness our hand

JOSEPH MACKINTIRE

SAM^l MCINTYRE¹ [*sic*]

The work was completed in September.

In July, 1783, Hathorne bought the easterly half of the house (137:144). In the Hathorne papers (IV, 22, 30) are accounts with Joseph & Angier McIntire for various items of work between January, 1787, and October, 1788. These include "Finishing the N. E. Chamber," "Wainscoting S. E. Room" and "Finishing your Entra." At the same period McIntire bought for the account of Hathorne (IV, 42), a lot of wall-paper doubtless for the house:

		<i>Boston, July 30 1788</i>
12 rolls of arch paper	@ 2/6	1. 10. —
1 Do Border	@ 2/6	2. 6
8 Do Parot Do	@ 2/6	1. 0. 0
½ Do Border	@ 2/6	1. 3
8 Do Peacock	@ 2/6	1. 0. 0
1 Do Border	2/6	2. 6
1 Do arch Blue	3/.	3. 0
		£3. 19. 3

The house has long been replaced by other buildings, and no drawings or photographs are known to survive.

¹ It is only in the earliest documents, from 1779, that Samuel McIntire spelled his name with a y.

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Elias Hasket Derby House, "By the Wharf"

96 Derby Street

Begun 1780, remodelled 1801

Principal owners: Derby, Hawkes

(Figures 17-19)

The plan, bearing on the back the legend "Plan of our hours Down by the worfe" (*sic*) in the handwriting of Elizabeth Crowninshield Derby, wife of Elias Hasket, is signed "S. McIntire Delin." and one of the elevations also has dimensions in his hand.

This house, the very existence of which has been unknown to architects, is described with little sympathy by Bentley in his diary:

September 23, 1800 . . . The Lots between Capt. Prince & Crowninshield in Derby Street were sold this day in Lots . . . The neighbors bought the Lots, which were sold by John Derby being part of the real estate of E. H. Derby left to him. On this land in 1780 Mr. Derby raised a Great House which he never finished. The third story was as high as the first & higher than the second. The pediment was lost in the roof & the Cupola which was finished was without any good effect. The back part was finished, but the front only covered with boards & was very rotten. It was sold this day to the Carpenters for 600 Dollars. A more uncomely mass was never piled up for a building . . . It has now stood 20 years a monument of folly [II, 350].

Two other references to it by Bentley are as follows:

Jan. 2, 1790. Mr. H. Derby beside opening his land back of the old Mansion House [200 Derby Street] is making large preparations at the unfinished house near the Wharf, for a commodious Shed, Saw pit & work yard for his Ship Building [I, 135].

May 21, 1791. (At a launching this day) there was a very handsome collation made by Mr. Derby for the workmen in the great unfinished house [I, 261].

In 1782 Elias Hasket Derby had purchased the Pickman house (70 Washington Street), and abandoned any idea of finishing the house by the wharf.

The mention of the house in his will September 4, 1799 is as follows: ". . . Unto my Son John . . . my House and land under and adjoining the same . . . commonly called the New House bounding Southerly on Derby Street. . ."

It would appear that the site included the piece of land bought by Elias Hasket Derby of Timothy Mansfield February 8, 1779 (Essex Deeds 136:216), so that Bentley's date of 1780 for the raising appears to be substantially correct.

The further history of the house, hitherto thought to have been demolished in 1800, has been worked out by Edwin W. Small and Stuart Moffett Barnette of the National Park Service, whose conclusions, generously made available, are adopted here.

The plot with the mansion house is listed as "Lott No. 7" in a memorandum "Sale of Land on Derby Street," September, 1800 (Derby MSS., VII, 96). By several transactions it passed through the hands of Jonathan Mason and Samuel Archer, 3d, and on April 18, 1801 was sold in two parcels, divided by a north-and-south line through the center of the house,

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the western to Benjamin Hawkes, boatbuilder (167: 256), the eastern to William B. Parker (167: 254). By a deed of June 2, 1801 (169: 89), Parker sold the eastern parcel to Hawkes, reserving "to himself the liberty to take off the rocks and the moiety of the dwelling house now standing partly on the premises—provided he does it within twelve months." Actually we find that only part of this half was removed, eliminating the eastern rooms of the original plan and leaving the eastern partition of the old hallway as the eastern wall of the diminished house. The sill here clearly shows that it was once a girder, still retaining the seats of joists which extended further eastward.

From a comparison of the plan of the existing house with McIntire's original plan, we infer that the western partition of the hallway was moved further west, diminishing the great western rooms (without moving their windows) and creating, from the augmented hallway space, two good rooms on the east, so that the house could be used by two families, with their entrances on the east and west sides. The two necessary flights of stairs were provided back to back in the entries between. An eastern chimney was provided for the front room in that half of the house, and a common chimney between the rear rooms.

Bentley's statement that "the third story was as high as the first and higher than the second" is not supported by either of McIntire's elevations, or by the existing building, of which the main cornice is at the height which these drawings indicate, so that the stories must remain as first executed. The existing windows are shorter than those in the drawings, and the ones of the upper stories are placed higher than those, which would have been very close to the floors, deceiving Bentley as to the height of the upper stories.

Bentley speaks of a pediment and can scarcely have been mistaken that there was one. There is, however, no evidence in the foundations or framing to indicate any break in the rectangular structure of the building. Evidently the intended projection of any pavilion to give visual support to the pediment must have been very slight, to be effected only in the decorative finish of the front. Without this finish the pediment must indeed have looked, as Bentley says, "lost in the roof."

The cupola Bentley saw necessarily disappeared in the narrowing of the house, the whole eastern roof being inevitably changed at that time.

There survive three mantels, removed from the house, which it is hoped may be replaced. They are of the types introduced by McIntire beginning in 1793, one with composition ornaments, two with reeding or fluting; they thus come from the period after Derby ceased work on the house, and will have been put in by Hawkes. As they have no carved ornaments, we need not assume that McIntire was personally concerned with them.

Bentley's remark "the back part was finished, but the front only covered with boards" may apply only to the exterior. While the interior trim of the rear rooms appears somewhat earlier in date than the rest, the arrangement and fenestration of these rooms were so much changed in Hawkes's remodelling that at most they can only show certain older elements reused.

Hawkes's property was conveyed to Benjamin Cox November 1, 1833 (276: 93), and by the trustees under his will to C. C. Pettingill et al., May 3, 1867 (726: 38). The purchasers conveyed it to H. C. Flint and Edward A. Goldthwaite January 1, 1872 (843: 279), and Flint acquired Goldthwaite's interest July 9, 1877 (975: 147). In 1893 Flint sold to

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Adeline Proulx, and she, in 1906, to A. Goldman. After passing through other hands, including those of the City of Salem, the house, long a tenement, has recently come into the ownership of the National Park Service as part of the Salem Maritime National Historic Site. In 1939 the house was undergoing repairs by the Park Service.

Unidentified Design for a Stable

About 1780?

(Figure 20)

In McIntire's scrap-book is a design by him for a stable, in a heavy academic style not unlike that of the Peirce house, but not identical in disposition with any stable of which we have record. McIntire's writing on the plan, large and sprawling, is like early rather than late examples of his hand. We can only surmise that the stable was projected, or executed, for one of his early houses, possibly the Derby house by the wharf.

Jerathmeel Peirce House

80 Federal Street

Built about 1782: Hall and Parlor remodelled about 1801

Owners: Peirce, Johonnot, Nichols

(Figures 3, 21-47)

Although this house is perhaps the best known of all the surviving houses attributed to McIntire, and the one most frequently cited as an example of his work, his connection with it is not established by any document. It rests securely on oral tradition — of more than usual value, as the house continued in the hands of descendants of the original owner — and on coherence of style with documented works.

Jerathmeel Peirce bought the land March 6, 1779 (Essex Deeds 136:207). The traditional date of the house, 1782, first appears in an account of the owner published in 1876 (*Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XVIII, 172). We shall not be far wrong in placing its erection between those years, to which belong both porches, the woodwork of the west parlor and chamber and the back stairs. The date of the decoration of the east parlor, hall and parlor chamber is fixed by a statement of George Nichols, who married Sally Peirce November 22, 1801: "We were married in my Father Peirce's great eastern room, which was finished and furnished only a short time before" (*George Nichols, Shipmaster and Merchant*, edited by his granddaughter, Martha Nichols, n.d.). An idea of what the original front stairs were like may be gained from McIntire's other houses of this time and from those of the Kittredge house in North Andover, which was influenced by the Peirce house.

In the executors' inventory of McIntire's effects (Essex Probate Records 380:367), we find "a Vol. of Architecture by Langley." The details of the Peirce house, taken from Batty Langley's *City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs*. . . , first published in 1740 and frequently reissued, enable us to identify this as the work in question. The details of the main order are identical with those of the Doric order as figured on Langley's plates (iv, v, etc.); the mantel of the Georgian west parlor comes from figure C^x of Plate LXI.

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That has to be sure a simple convex frieze, but the frieze with a reverse curve as in the Peirce mantel appears on Plate LXV. An overmantel with ears, somewhat modified by McIntire in execution, is shown on Plate LXXXI.

The stable, with its heavy arches, doubtless comes from the period of the first building of the house; the other constructions around the stable court, as well as the fine fence, from the period about 1801.

This magnificent house has since remained intact. In 1917 it became the property of the Essex Institute, being still occupied until recently by a descendant of Jerathmeel Peirce.

In 1924-1925 the beautiful fence was found to be in great need of repair and Mr. William Gibbons Rantoul of Salem, the architect, kindly undertook to make the necessary drawings. He was fortunate enough to find in the coach house enough parts of the fence which had, at some earlier time, been removed in making repairs to enable him to eliminate the changes which had been made, especially in the gate, so that he felt assured that it could be restored to its original design. The urns were some or all of them the original ones though much decayed and they were carefully followed in carving new ones. Some of these originals are now in the possession of the Essex Institute.

Francis Boardman House

82 Washington Square

Built 1782-1789

Principal owners: Boardman, Silsbee, Bowdoin

(Figures 48-51)

The deed is of September 14, 1782 (137:99), from John Hodges, Boardman's father-in-law, to him for "land lying . . . butting and bounding . . . westerly on the training field. . ." A manuscript notebook of accounts, endorsed "Papers belonging to Frans. Boardman deceased: Bills paid for building a House" is preserved by the Essex Institute.

In the first pages of the book entries are not dated and there are very few names of payees. Beginning with 1787 however — after £2242. 2s. 1¼d. had been spent — there is a heading for each year. By that time the house proper was nearly finished, for we find "4 Load of Rocks for Porterco [*sic*]," "Wm Kings bill Turning Colloms & Bannisters." We find in 1787 "Joseph McIntire bill sundry Carpenters Work, £42. 2s. 9d."; "Joseph McIntire & Brother bill Building the Store," "Ditto for gaits North Side the House," and in 1788 "Joseph McIntire & Brother for Building Little house shed, finishing 2 upper Chamber & entry to the same & Building pig stiee," etc. These items, connecting the McIntires with the house, confirm the internal evidence that Samuel McIntire gave the design.

This probability becomes almost a certainty when we compare certain features of the house with those of the Peirce house. The side porches, with their exceptionally classic design, are almost identical. The central window of the second story in front has an academic frieze and cornice like the windows of the Peirce house.

The housewarming will have taken place on February 19, 1789, when Bentley records "Boardman's entertainment" (I, 115). Again March 17 he writes: "Tuesday evening a second dance was permitted in the chamber of Capt Boardman's elegant house. The number of

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persons much lessened on this second occasion" (I, 119). On the occasion of Washington's visit to Salem, October 31 of the same year, Bentley notes: "As there was a disposition to accommodate the town by assigning Capt Boardman's House on the East side of the Common, which was overruled, on Friday morning the General took his departure from the Town on the great Street eastward, and turned in at the bottom of the Common through Ives lane" to pass the house (I, 131). It was but two years before Bentley's final entry: "Mar. 16, 1792. We had the painful news after much warning of the death of Capt. Francis Boardman at Port au Prince. He was a man of great ambition, fond of shew, & of great public spirit. He built an elegant house, which for situation is the best in town. Had just completed a good road to it, finished the outbuildings, filled a pond before it, when he was snatched out of life, universally lamented."

The existing front porch is an alteration after 1800, and the present fence is modern. The mantels were first modified to the style of 1800, and then, downstairs, were replaced with marble doubtless during the tenure of Zachariah Fowle Silsbee, 1837-1873. In recent years, 1879-1920, the house was the residence of Mrs. Lucy H. Bowdoin. She substituted for one of the simple mantels upstairs, itself already modified about 1800 by the substitution of pilasters, a later McIntire mantel from the Elias Hasket Derby house on Washington Street. The mantel she removed she presented to the Essex Institute, and it is illustrated here. The frieze and cornice show the work of the early period.

Interiors of the Joshua Ward House

148 *Washington Street*

1784-1787

(Figures 4, 52, 53)

Joshua Ward bought the property August 11, 1781 (138:264). He removed an old house, and built the present mansion. In the Ward Papers at the Essex Institute are several bills for bricks and other materials in 1784 and 1785, including nails furnished to Joseph McIntire. December 7, 1784, Samuel McIntire billed Ward as follows:

to Work on his House Window frames &c.	
50¾ days @ 8/ per day	£ 20: 6:0
to work on the Virginia Store frames	4:17:7
to making Sashes 94 Squares @ 9/	3:10:6
	£ 28:14:1

June 1, 1785, he billed Ward £10. 12s. 6d. "to part the job finishing the Entries in the Brick House," June 3, Joseph McIntire billed him £24. 13s. 9d. "to my part of the Job in your Entries," and Angier McIntire the same amount. Later Joseph McIntire billed Ward as follows:

the Whole Extr Worck	
Job Chambers Floors and Closet	0:28:0
to 4 Door Frames	0:16:0
to a Dental Cor [?] in Doore head	2:14:0
to fixing in 22 Window Sashes	1: 8:0

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January 26, 1787, we find

Mr. Joshua Ward to Joseph McIntire Dr.

to my worck on your Frontis piece	£ 3 : 15 : 0
to new fixing the stops 5/ to Ponting the wall	
for the Lead 6/ to watertables on the Doors 3/	0 : 14 : 0
to putting up Stages to Stages to the Chimneys an taking Down	0 : 12 : 0
to my part of the worck Building your Fence	7 : 10 : 0
to huing posts and setting 18/ to plinths on the tops 5/	1 : 3 : 0
to 4 Days 3/4 worck on board your Brig at 6/	1 : 8 : 6
to 3 Days 1/4 on board the schooner	0 : 19 : 6
	£ 16 : 6 : 6

At the same time Angier McIntire billed substantially equal items for work on the front door and the chimney stages.

The first reference to the house by Bentley is on November 11, 1788 (I, 109): "The chimnies of Mr. Joshua Ward's elegant brick house were broken off level with the roof of the house" in a high wind.

The house is celebrated as the one occupied by Washington on his visit to Salem October 29, 1789. After describing the festivities of the day, Bentley wrote (I, 131): "The General then retired to the House of Mr. Joshua Ward, which is situated below the Old Church at the Entry of the Town from Marblehead. It is a large Brick House on the west side of the Street. This assignation was made at the General's particular request."

The porch appearing in the photographs is an addition after 1820; more recently the house has suffered various defacements. The chimneys were again blown down and the house was badly wrecked in the hurricane of September, 1938. Prior to this, fortunately, elaborate measured drawings of the house had been made by the Historic American Buildings Survey.

Court-House

Court (Washington) Street

Built 1785-1786; removed 1839

(Figures 54, 55)

The original drawings, with its dimensions written in McIntire's hand, corroborates the contemporary statements of the *Massachusetts Magazine* for March, 1790, accompanying an engraving by F. Hill from a drawing by W. Gray.

The Court House in Salem is a large, elegant building, and stands toward the end of a handsome spacious street. On the lower floor, on the eastern side, is a range of offices, large and convenient; one of which is occupied by the Clerk of the Court of Common Pleas for the county of Essex; in which are kept all the records of that court: The other two are used as offices, for the Selectmen and Assessors of the town of Salem. The remainder of the lower story is a fine spacious area, for walking &c.

The second story is composed of a large court hall, with seats on every side, for the Judges, officers of the court, and for the auditors — said to be the best constructed room,

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for the holding of courts, of any in the Commonwealth, and perhaps is not exceeded by any in the United States. In the ceiling is a handsome ventilator. Back of the Judges' seat is a Venetian window, highly finished in the Ionick order; which affords a beautiful prospect . . . There is also on this floor a convenient lobby for Jurors &c. This house was begun in 1785, and completed in 1786, at the joint expense of the county of Essex and town of Salem. The plan of it was designed by the ingenious Mr. Samuel M'Intire and executed by that able architect, Mr. Daniel Bancroft, both of Salem.

It was from the balcony of the Court-house that Washington received the homage of the multitude on his visit to Salem in 1789.

In 1817 (November 4), Bentley records a remodelling of a generation later:

The Court House has been entirely changed since the Town sold to the County. Fire proof all made below, the eastern door has been closed & the lower floor appropriated for offices in such parts as are not taken for records. The Court Hall has been entirely changed. The lawyer's seats have been extended so as to take the greater part of the area leaving beyond the seats for the Judges, Bar, magistrates & jury only a smaller part of the floor. To accomodate a few persons a small gallery is placed over the door supported on four Ionic pillars. The exterior of the house is little changed & the front remains the same. . . [IV, 485].

The Court-house was removed when the railroad tunnel was built in 1839. Four Doric columns from a porch on Federal Street, which are now the property of the Essex Institute, are reputed to have come from the Court-house, but they are too small and too short to have been those of the main portico and we hear of none in the interior, other than the "Ionic pillars" of the gallery of 1817.

Unidentified House

About 1785?

(Figure 56)

The elevation, in McIntire's scrap-book, has no writing, but all other drawings in the book seem to be his own and the indication of the Corinthian capitals is the same as that of his drawings for the Capitol.

We have no clue as to its identity. One might surmise that the drawing were a rejected study for the remodelling of the Pickman house for Elias Hasket Derby, but the position of the windows laterally is not the same as there, as it would have to be in remodelling a brick façade.

The style of the house is really that of an earlier day — of such buildings as the Timothy Orne house in Salem, or the Lee or Hooper houses in Marblehead, all built before the Revolution. Thus we can scarcely place the design later than 1785; the large scale of the drawing and the practised hand it reveals make us doubt that it can be much earlier in McIntire's career.

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Benjamin Pickman House

70 Washington Street

Built 1764; remodelled for Elias Hasket Derby, 1786; demolished in 1915

Principal owners: Pickman, Derby, Rogers, Brookhouse

(Figures 57-65)

The date at which the house was originally erected is given as 1764 in the manuscript of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, grandson of the original owner, written in 1793 and published in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 102. A water-color sketch of the Brick Schoolhouse, made by Joseph Orne about 1765,² shows the Pickman house, having the same size and general form as after the remodelling, with a hip-roof and eaves-balustrade, but lacking the cupola, the corner pilasters and window enframements.

Benjamin Pickman the elder, who died in 1773, left the house to his son, whose widow, Sarah, conveyed it to Elias Hasket Derby, April 29, 1782 (Deeds 140: 150). It is described as "Containing a brick dwelling house . . . with the outhouses, buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging." Mr. Derby, who had previously lived in the brick house built for him by his father (168 Derby Street)³ seems to have taken up his residence in the Pickman house on its purchase, and to have thereupon abandoned further work on the "new house" by the wharf, begun in 1780.

The first work to be undertaken is suggested by the following entry in the Derby accounts and no doubt included the cupola there mentioned.

Mr. E. H. Derby to Sam^l Blyth Dr

	1782 July
To Gilding Cupallo Ball	£ 4-16-0
To painting & Gilding L. Glass	18-0
To Gilding Eagle	12-0
To 2 Sett Venitian Blinds	7- 4-0
To 8 Screws	1-4
To painting 76 yds in Necessary house	7- 4-0
To painting 78 Do in Cupallo	3- 4-0
To Stamping Carpets in Necessary house & Cupallo	3- 0-0
To painting Stone hearth	0- 6-0
To painting Chest & bellows	6-0
	£ 35- 7-4

Errors Except^d p SAML BLYTH

Received ye Above

SAM^l BLYTH

The cupola is preserved in the garden of the Essex Institute. Its eagle will scarcely have been a large one crowning the cupola ball, for the amount paid for gilding it is disproportion-

² Reproduced in "The Diary of William Bentley," I (1905), facing page 31.

³ Cf. James Duncan Phillips: "The Life and Times of Richard Derby" (1929), especially pages 76-78.

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tionately small. More probably it was a small one on the looking-glass. When the McIntire eagle which later adorned the cupola was carved cannot be determined.

The following receipt covers a considerable amount of carpenter's work by Samuel McIntire's brother Angier:

September y^e 29th 1783

Mr. Elias Hasket Derby to Angier McIntire, Dr.

	£ s d
to work at y ^r house 13 Days 3/4 at 10 s/ per day	6:17:6
to 79 Days at 9/	35:11:0
	42: 8:6

ANG^r MCINTIRE

On the same day his brother Joseph presented his bill for a larger amount. Their work at these times will have been on the interior. We have no surviving interior views except some of the staircase, which is of the period of 1764.

In 1786 the whole front of the house was refaced in a more magnificent style, not unlike that of the Peirce house, and with details likewise taken from Langley's *Treasury*. An engraving of the Court-house (built 1785-1786), from W. Gray's drawing already mentioned, still shows the old front of the Derby's house. McIntire's design for the new front, with dimensions in his handwriting, is on paper with a water-marked date 1786. It must have been used immediately after the manufacture of the paper, for the work was billed by Joseph McIntire & Brothers September 28 of the same year:⁴

to the Job Repairing the outside of your house at \$650	195: 0:0
to five window Sashe extra	7:10:0
to work 194½ Days at 7/	68: 1:6
to 56½ Days at 6/	16:19:0
to Carving Capitalls for front Door	2: 0:0
Repairing the Lanthorne Door & several Jobs at ye other house (etc)	1:12:6

Again on September 26, 1788, Joseph McIntire billed Elias Hasket Derby for "work at your house, 12 Days . . . £3. 7s. 4d."

McIntire's bill of January 11, 1792 against Elias Hasket Derby contains an item:

1791 Augt 2d to a Design for a Front Fence 5 shillings

This design may perhaps be recognized in the drawing from McIntire's scrap-book which we reproduce in connection with the house. At least this is the only surviving design for a fence which, from its academic character, devoid of traces of Adam influence, may be placed before 1793. The form of the posts, with their coupled Doric pilasters, is taken directly from Langley's *Treasury*, Plate xix. The house was occupied by Elias Hasket Derby until 1798, when he moved to the great mansion on Essex Street, the older house then being occupied by his eldest son.

⁴Published by Mabel M. Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 338.

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By Elias Hasket Derby's will, dated September 4, 1799 he devised to this son Elias Hasket, "the Dwelling house in which he now lives, with the Outhouses and the land under and adjoining the same, situate in Court Street . . . which I estimate at six thousand three hundred and thirty four dollars. . ." The heir, however, reconveyed the property to his brother John by deed of August 19, 1800 (167: 31), including the brick dwelling house, "with barn, out-houses, and other buildings." The price was the large one of \$11,500.

John Derby seems to have made some further embellishments, as we have the following bills from the period of his ownership drawn by Samuel McIntire and his son:

John Derby Esquire to Saml. McIntire Dr.

to Composition Ornaments for a Chimney Piece	
VIZ. Side Friezes at 6/2 Blockings 3/9	£ 0: 9: 11
Tablet 15/9	: 15: 9
Pr. of hand wood Capitals at 20/	1: :
	2: 5: 8
<i>Salem 7th Dec. 1801</i>	

Mr. John Derby Esqr. to Saml. F. McIntire Dr

To a tablet for Chimneypiece	\$3.00
------------------------------	--------

Salem July 16, 1810

The former of these bills evidently refers to such a mantel as the one surviving from the house, now installed in the Francis Boardman house, 82 Washington Square.

It will have been for John Derby that Michele Felice Corné painted the decorations in the cupola with a panorama of vessels of the Derby fleet. This artist was brought from Naples on Elias Hasket Derby's ship *Mount Vernon*, but as she did not arrive in Naples until one week before the great merchant's death, when he had already removed to his great new mansion, the cupola of the old house will not have been decorated in his time. Corné arrived in July, 1800. Bentley frequently mentions him in 1802 and 1804, but speaks of him as "formerly of this town" in 1807. The work on the cupola will have been completed before this date.

John Derby was also the builder of the beautiful coach house (Figure 64) erected in 1803 from a design of McIntire, as we see from the following bill:

Mr. John Derby Esqr. to Saml M^cIntire Dr.

to A Drawing for A Coach house	£ 0: 15: 0
to 6 Draperies for D ^o at 9/each	2: 14
to making 30 panes, or Squares, of	
Elipitical Sashes for D ^o at 3/ each	4: 10: :
	9: 19: 0
<i>21st Sept 1803</i>	
	\$26.50

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It was further adorned by McIntire in 1810:

Mr. John Derby Esqr to Saml McIntire, Dr.

to two Draperies for Coach house
to 2 pattered for windows

£ 3:0:0
5:
£ 3:5:0

Salem 19th May, 1810

A glimpse of the grounds in John Derby's time is given by a letter of Eliza Southgate, July 6, 1802: "Here to is an elegant garden, full of fruit trees, the walks kept as nice as possible, and shaded on each side by plum trees; very handsome summer house where we sat an hour or two."⁵

John Derby continued to occupy the house for many years. His grandson John Rogers, the sculptor, was born there in 1829. It was later the residence of Robert Brookhouse, a wealthy merchant. In 1915 it was razed to make way for the Masonic Temple. The cupola is preserved in the garden of the Essex Institute, its eagle at the Brookhouse villa in Swampscott. The eagle now crowning the cupola came from another source. The carvings of the coach house were applied to the barn of John Robinson at 18 Summer Street.

Samuel McIntire House

31 Summer Street

1786 ff.

(Figures 66-70)

Two simple drawings (Numbers 12 and 13) in McIntire's scrap-book, bearing dimensions in his handwriting, are for this, his own house. Their measurements and fenestration correspond with these of the surviving building, which has subsequently had a third story added, as the joints in the corner boards testify.

The land, without buildings, was bought by Samuel McIntire of Hannah Pees, October 24, 1786, at a cost of £41. 12s. 9d. (146: 137). McIntire's drawings for the house are made on paper also used for a receipt dated October 25, 1785, and we may thus assume they were made and the house built at once. The balusters have the columnar form we find in McIntire's houses of that period. In 1804 McIntire bought a small adjoining parcel, with buildings (173: 218). The third story of the house was not added in his lifetime, or his wife's, as the inventories of their estates list the contents of the rooms in two stories only.

Samuel McIntire died intestate in 1811, and on October 4, 1813, his son Samuel Field McIntire conveyed to his mother, for consideration, all his interest in the estate (201: 117). At the time of her death in 1815, he owned and occupied a small house on Hamilton Street, which he thereupon sold to her executor (225:99). His mother, by will proved October 31, 1815, had bequeathed her dwelling house to two of his minor children, and he and his family appear to have taken up their residence there until his own death in 1819.

⁵ *Scribner's Magazine*, II (1887), 80, reprinted in E. S. Bowne "A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago" (1887).

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In 1827 half of the house was conveyed to William Phelps and the deed (245:238) makes clear that by this time the third story had been added. A mantel from this story (removed in 1930 and sold as Lot 312 in the Benjamin Flayderman auction April 18, 1931) has carving of a different character than known McIntire work. The mantel in the front room of the second floor, though having some superficial similarities with Samuel McIntire's work, is also not by him.

Simon Forrester House

188 *Derby Street*

*Begun by Jonathan Ingersoll and completed by Simon Forrester,
who bought it, unfinished, in 1791*

(Figures 5, 71-74)

Bentley wrote February 2, 1791: "Capt. Forrester⁶ has purchased the elegant but unfinished House of Capt. Jona. Ingersoll, fronting Derby Street, with the Cobb Wharf [afterwards Central Wharf] & Store & flats, at about £700" (I, 232). Just when the house was begun we do not know: the occasion for the sale seems to have been the death of Captain Ingersoll's wife on January 24 (Bentley I, 231). The deed is dated February 3 (152:185).

Attribution of this house to Samuel McIntire rests on comparisons of style and detail with the Jerathmeel Peirce, Ward, and Boardman houses. In the extremely bold staircase there are many points of identity with the Boardman and Ward staircases: the use of small columns as balusters, and their correct academic form; the treatment of flare and newel at the foot; the profile of the handrail. In the parlor, comparison of the architectural features with those of the Georgian parlor and the chamber above that at the Peirce house reveals much in common: the treatment of the architraves with ears, of the egg-and-dart on the overmantel panel, of the profile of the cornice. The broad end-blocks of the frieze are found in mantels of the Boardman house which have otherwise been modified. The carvings of the frieze and of the pilasters which frame the overmantel are precious specimens of McIntire's carving at this time, the only considerable ones we have. The interior doorways are substantially identical in design with some at the Peirce house. On the exterior also we find features characteristic of McIntire's unusually close adherence to academic canons: the door-portico, of the Roman Doric with triglyphs and mutules — the front columns have been replaced with barbarous square posts — has three-quarter columns next to the building, like the porticoes of the Peirce house and the remodelled Pickman (Derby) house on Washington Street. The windows have small moulded caps above the casings, as in the Boardman house — features scarcely found elsewhere in Salem.

About 1895 the late Francis Shaw removed the mantel in the east parlor, which he presented to the Essex Institute in 1924.

⁶ Cf. Henry Wyckoff Belknap: "Simon Forrester of Salem and his descendants," *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXI (1935).

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The Stearns Block: Washington Hall

Northeast corner, Essex and Washington Streets

Built 1792, demolished 1902

(Figures 75-78)

McIntire's original design survives, readily recognizable by its close correspondence with the executed building. Describing Essex Street in 1793, Colonel Pickman writes: "The next and corner house is Stearns and Waldo's new and elegant brick building, built last year by Colonel Benjamin Pickman, Major Waldo and Dr. William Stearns."⁷

Robert S. Rantoul who became an apprentice of Dr. Stearns the apothecary in June of 1792, states that Stearns removed to the building in October.⁸

It included a handsome hall the use of which Bentley records for the first time on Washington's birthday, 1793 (II, 5). Already in June he speaks of it as Washington Hall (II, 33).

The building remained in use, suffering various architectural indignities from time to time, until first the southern part, and in 1902 the northern part, were demolished. Some of the woodwork of Washington Hall is preserved by the Essex Institute, forming the balcony in the great hall of its Museum.

Competitive Design for the United States Capitol at Washington

1792

(Figures 79-83)

The drawings, signed by McIntire, were received by the Commissioners of the Federal City on July 2, 1792, in accordance with their advertisement of the competition dated March 14. A letter from Senator George Cabot to the Commissioners and their reply are entered in the letter books of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds:

Beverly, Massachusetts, June 14th, 1792

GENTLEMEN:

Mr. Samuel McIntire of this vicinity is thought to have exhibited some proofs of a good taste in architecture & his friends have requested my opinion of the probability of his success in designing the federal buildings. —

Mr. McIntire's circumstances in Life have confined him to labor in a small sphere, his genius has been denied those aids to which Nature seems to have given him some claims, but under all these disadvantages he is believed to be capable of producing a plan for a national edifice not wholly unworthy the consideration of the Commissioners; under this impression I have encouraged his attempt, & have given the assurance that if his design should be elegant & should have anything of originality its merit would not be overlooked. —

with great respect, I am, Gentlemen
your most obedient Servant

GEORGE CABOT

⁷ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 100.

⁸ "Mr. Rantoul's Youth and Apprenticeship," *ib.*, V (1863), 194.

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City of Washington, 4 July, 1792

SIR:

We had the pleasure at our meeting the 2d instant to receive your favour of the 14th of last month with Mr. McIntire's plan for a capitol. The choice out of those which may be proposed, and there are several already come, to hand, is with the President. Mr. McIntire's will be laid before him; from the cursory view we have taken of it, we think it not without merit. You may be assured, we have a sensible pleasure in seeing our Countrymen contending for the prize in architecture, which would be still greatly increased by a well-founded decision in favor of some one of them. We beg leave, Sir, to return you our thanks for your encouragement to Mr. McIntire's attempt and the trouble you have taken to communicate the design to, Your, &c.

TH. JOHNSON
D^r STUART
DAN^t CARROLL

McIntire's drawings are preserved, with those of several other competitors, by the Maryland Historical Society. They comprise a plan, two elevations and four sections. The principal front has a five part division: a central portico of six free-standing Corinthian columns, approached by balancing flights of steps; and pavilions marked simply by pilasters and a slight break in the entablature and basement lines. The "Back Front" has a central pavilion only, of six deep Corinthian pilasters, but before the basement of the long wings run colonnades of coupled Doric columns. The broken window architraves, their tops pedimented in the main story, the eaves-balustrade, the small porticoes of four columns at the end entrances, the Palladian windows over them, are all features characteristic of McIntire's earlier designs.

Although the sense of form is thus fundamentally the same as his hitherto, the breadth of treatment betokens an inspiration for the ensemble which Langley's *Treasury* of details could not have furnished. For this inspiration, indeed, it seems that McIntire went to a book outside his own small library, James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1728). Plate xli of Gibbs's work shows façades strikingly similar to McIntire's in general composition and identical in a great number of details. Like McIntire's "Principal Front," Gibbs's elevation similarly lettered has a pedimented central motive and shallow end pavilions of two bays, framed by pilasters—all in the Corinthian order, and with the entablature carried the full length, both novelties in McIntire's work. McIntire, like Gibbs, has a free-standing portico on one side, an engaged frontispiece on the other, though he places the portico on the principal face instead of on the garden front. He also adopts throughout the window scheme of the garden front: pedimented enframements, triangular and segmental, in the principal story, architraves with ears top and bottom in the upper story; rusticated quoins in the basement. As his basement story is higher, however, and not rusticated throughout, he takes his detail for these last from the rusticated upper windows of Gibbs's other façade. McIntire's great exterior flights of steps are composed from the two schemes shown by Gibbs, whose rear terrace with its balustrade of coupled posts may have suggested McIntire's gallery.

The idea of increasing the four columns of Gibbs's portico to six may have come either from other plates in the same work or from Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture*, one of the books left by McIntire at his death.

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The interiors of McIntire's design are exclusively rectangular, with coved ceilings, and with their architectural treatment confined to cornice, dado, and enframements of doors, windows and fireplaces. For these his accustomed manual, Langley's *Treasury* furnished abundant material, and we see in the great chimneypieces of the Conference Room, for instance, features taken literally from this (Plate xcii). The wealth of carving and sculpture shown reveals the gift which was to make McIntire preeminent in those fields, although its character is still that of Georgian luxuriance rather than the Adam delicacy of his later ornament.

The diversity of sources from which the self-trained architect was constrained to derive his motives did not prevent him from welding them into a consistent whole, of which no small part of the merit is his own. This was made possible not only by the cohesion of style in his prototypes but by the personal gift of the designer for decorative composition and harmony of proportion. These qualities may be seen especially in the rear façade, the end, and the great wall of the Conference Room — which moreover are just those parts of the design which are most his own. The author's inexperience appears in the handling of certain difficult problems — for example, the relation of the pavilion treatment of the principal front to the unequal size of the two legislative chambers behind. The careful thought given to every feature, however, is revealed by the perfect agreement of the different drawings, the number and choice of sections, as well as by the correctness of minor axial relationships in the façades.

The ten designs then received were judged by President Washington and the Commissioners, without a choice, at a meeting on July 16 and 17.⁹ The most favored was one by the French professional Stephen Hallet, a temple scheme which followed a suggestion by Jefferson. From the designs then and later considered we may assume that chief passports to admiration were a peristyle or a prominent central dome, which latter featured the design ultimately selected, that of the gifted amateur, William Thornton. The lack of either of these features in McIntire's traditional academic design sufficiently explains why it did not hold its own, in the eyes of the judges, with some others of no greater technical competence.

Doorway of the Stearns House

384 Essex Street

Before 1793

(Figure 84)

Among all the numerous tabernacle doorways and porches which adorn surviving Salem houses of the period before 1793, the only one which we may confidently attribute to McIntire is that of the William Stearns house at 384 Essex Street. The unusual elaboration of this doorway with its flanking pilasters and the perfect academic correctness of its Doric detail, characteristic of McIntire alone in Salem at this period, justify our belief that it was he who added it to this older house, while it was in the ownership of Dr. William Stearns, one of his clients in the erection of the Stearns Block.

⁹ Fiske Kimball and Wells Bennett: "The Competition for the Federal Buildings, 1792-1793, II," *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, VII (1919), 98.

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Unidentified Houses

Before 1793

(Figures 85–87)

McIntire's scrap-book includes three plans of his for L-shaped houses of wood, closely related, which have defied all efforts at identification, in spite of their superficial similarities with many surviving houses. Two features suggest that these plans are from a relatively early date. One is the position of the bake-ovens, which open into the fireplace itself, instead of beside it on the chimneybreast. The other is the use of three-quarter columns as responds in one of the porches, as in the Peirce and Forrester houses, and in the Pickman house remodelled for Elias Hasket Derby.

As regards these and other unidentified plans, a complete perambulation of old Salem has failed to identify them with existing houses, and we must suppose that the houses, if ever erected, have been demolished or modified out of recognition.

Nathan Read House

134 Essex Street

Built 1793; demolished 1857

Principal owners: Read, Peabody

(Figures 6, 88–92)

In the manuscript of Colonel Benjamin Pickman, dated September, 1793, describing the buildings of Salem, he says in speaking of the Bowditch or Jeffery house formerly on the site: "At this writing Mr. Nathan Read . . . is building a very large house in the rear of this."¹⁰

McIntire's authorship is established by the following letter of Colonel Perley Putnam, then a vigorous octogenarian, who worked on the building when an apprentice.

Feb. 11, 1859

. . . In reference to the time when Dr. Reed's (late Colonel Joseph Peabody's) house was built, I would inform you that the carpenters commenced working on the frame of said house early in the month of October, 1793 . . . Samuel Mackintire was the Architect, and Joseph Mackintire and others were the carpenters, &c. . .¹¹

On April 4, 1795,¹² Read removed to his farm-house in Danvers, mentioned later in this volume. The house in Salem was occupied by the family of the historian Prescott, who was born here in 1796. October 19, 1798 Bentley noted that "the famous house in Essex street, lately erected upon the Bowditch Estate, is to be sold in November at public Auction. It is offered at 10,000 dollars" (II, 286). In 1799 it was sold to Captain Joseph Peabody, who lived there until his death in 1844. In 1855 the property was conveyed to the proprietors of

¹⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 97.

¹¹ *Ib.*, I (1859), 184.

¹² J. W. Reed: "History of the Reed Family" (1861), 292.

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the Salem Athenaeum, and the house was soon afterwards demolished to make way for the new building which now forms part of the premises of the Essex Institute.

Some of the materials from the house were removed by Francis Peabody at the time of its destruction, and were installed by his descendants in other houses. One of the mantels was at The Lindens, Danvers, until the removal of that house to Washington in 1935. Here also is another mantel made by cutting down a fine doorcasing. A double doorway of closely similar design is preserved at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers, where it was installed by the late William Crowninshield Endicott. The pilaster caps of these doorways were derived, with slight modification from Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*, 1790, McIntire's new English *vade mecum*.

The Lyman House

Waltham, Massachusetts

Built by Theodore Lyman, 1793 ff.; remodelled 1882; restorations 1918

(Figures 7, 93-109)

The elevation in McIntire's scrap-book has on the back the words "Mr. Lyman's house Plans"; the plan, drawn on the same kind of paper, has the signature "S. McIntire, Delin." That McIntire designed this house for the great Boston merchant was due doubtless to the connections of Mrs. Lyman, who had been married to him in Salem in 1786.

The conveyance of the land on which the house stands was of March 30, 1793 (Middlesex Deeds, 112:290). "It would have been characteristic of Mr. Lyman," writes his great-grandson, "to have begun building at once." That he must have done so soon, in view of the time inevitably necessary in those days to erect a building of such character, is testified by the following entry in the diary of William Bentley showing the house must have been already practically complete: "June 23, 1798 . . . I had a sight of Mr. Liman's elegant seat" (II, 272).

The first plan shows merely a single wing, on the west, for the service, but there can have been no substantial delay in the decision to add a wing also on the east for a "Hall," for two reasons: McIntire's drawing for this is on the same kind of paper as his design for the Derby summer-house made in 1793; the service wing was itself built to correspond to the form determined by the library wing.

McIntire's participation in the work will not have extended much beyond the making of the designs, as during the years when the house was building he was occupied intensively in Salem with work on the Derby mansion. The character of the detail has merely such a general similarity to his work as may be accounted for by the currency of the style of Bulfinch, and the occasional use of the same composition ornaments, available in commerce. The work will have been executed by other able craftsmen.

The owners have been Theodore Lyman, to 1839, George W. Lyman, to 1880, Arthur T. Lyman, to 1915, Arthur Lyman, to 1932, the house still remaining in the family.

After the death of George W. Lyman in 1880 the house was rather drastically remodelled to increase its accommodations, and to adapt it to the taste of the time. Fortunately a number of photographs were taken before that time, which we reproduce here through the courtesy



Figure 8. Derby Summer-house, Peabody, 1793-1794. Now at
Glen Magna Farm, Danvers.



Figure 9. Oak Hill, Peabody, 1800–1801. Parlor chimneypiece. Now at The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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of Mr. Arthur Lyman, together with drawings kindly furnished by Messrs. Hartwell, Richardson & Driver.

From these we may infer that the house as first erected departed from McIntire's designs only in minor respects. At the south door a Doric porch was added at an early date; at the north door a Corinthian one, somewhat later. Before the middle of the century a veranda was carried along the north and east sides of the library.

Internally, in the first finishing of the "Hall" or library, McIntire's design, with its academic window-casings, was modified; the windows were carried to the floor, and tall columns and pilasters were introduced with an open screen of columns toward the neighboring room. The final marble mantel here is a feature of the original work. At some time before 1880 this screen was closed by a partition.

In 1918 the interiors were restored so far as practicable to their original condition, under the direction of Miss N. D. Tupper. The present wood mantels of the main story are modern work in the old style, the original mantels having been replaced by black marble at an early date. The old doors of the dining-room, which at the time of the remodelling had been given to Mr. Henry Wilder Foote, still survive in a house in Cambridge, and were followed in the restoration.

The fine stable, which survives intact, is closely related to McIntire's stables, and is presumably from a design by him.

The estate was beautifully laid out in the landscape style and has been the object of constant admiration. "It is the most beautiful place round Boston," wrote Eliza Southgate in 1803. "I have no time to tell you of this elegant place, of Mr. Lyman's great taste in laying out the grounds. It surpasses everything of the kind I ever saw—beautiful river or brook thickly planted with trees and elegant swans swimming about."¹³ The gardens and plantations were discussed by Charles Eliot in *Garden and Forest*, 1889,¹⁴ and with many illustrations, in Alice G. B. Lockwood's *Gardens of Colony and State*, 1931, where the description of Downing, about 1840, is reprinted. The house and grounds have been measured and drawn by the Historic American Building Survey.¹⁵

The Derby Summer-Houses

at the Derby farm, Peabody, 1793–1794, and elsewhere

(Figures 8, 110–113)

Among McIntire's designs which came to the Essex Institute from the Derby family are three for garden houses, two of which are the working drawings for the famous summer-house at Elias Hasket Derby's farm in South Danvers, later renamed Peabody, a property which he purchased in 1776. Here he developed a garden which became famous.

It was for this garden that John and Simeon Skillin of Boston carved the four wooden figures which they billed to Derby on September 25, 1793:¹⁶

¹³ E. S. Bowne. "A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago" (1887), and in *Scribner's Magazine*, II (1887), 85.

¹⁴ Reprinted in "Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect" (1902), 243–246.

¹⁵ The plan of the grounds is reproduced in *Landscape Architecture*, XXVI (1935), 3.

¹⁶ Mabel M. Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 342.

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To a Figure of a Hermit for a Garden	£ 7: 10: 0
To a Figure of a Shepherdess	6: 0: 0
To a Figure of Plenty	7: 10: 0
To a Figure of a Gardener	7: 10: 0
To Priming the Above	0: 15: 0
	£ 29: 5: 0

In that year Derby must have determined to build the summer-house completed the next season, as is indicated by the following items in Samuel McIntire's statement of account dated June 8, 1795.

1793	<i>Dec</i> 4th	to Sundrie Drawings for Summer Houses @ 24/	£ 1: 4:
1794	<i>Apl</i> 25	to Carving 4 Vases for the Summer House at 18/s each	3: 18:
	<i>July</i>	to Building the Summer House at the Farm @	100: 0: 0
		to Extra work on the Same, Viz., finishing four Closets	
		@ 20/ each	4: 0: 0
		to Rusticating the Corners of y ^e lower Storie @	3: 0: 0
		to Making window Blinds for four arch windows @	
		24/ each	4: 16: 0
		to four Square D ^o @ 15/ per window	3: 0: 0
		to 22 Gallons W. I. Rum for the whole work	6: 12: 0
		to making and putting up four brackets for images @	
		9/ each	1: 16: 0

Beside the two drawings followed in execution, of a building two stories in height, there is one showing a house of a single story, raised on a "mount," which is marked "No. 1." Possibly this was a first study for the summer-house at the farm, although the dimensions correspond with one built at the Derby mansion in Salem. The decision may well have been to use the two-story design in the country, the other in town, the carvings of the latter being executed in 1799 as we shall see.

Two of the figures carved by the Skillins—the "Gardener" and the "Shepherdess" later known as the "Reaper" and the "Milkmaid"—were placed over the gables of the summer-house. The "Plenty," or Pomona as she has since been called, stood in front; it now belongs to Mrs. Clifford Brigham of Readville, Massachusetts. The Hermit, which as we shall see was placed in some rustic building, has been lost from sight.

Of the interesting garden in which the summer-house stood we have a number of descriptions in Bentley's diary:

June 22, 1790 [I, 180]. I went to ride with Capt. S. Chever into Danvers. Saw the garden of Mr. E. H. Derby. The Dutch Gardener¹⁷ was very attentive. The Principal Garden is in three parts divided by an open slat fence painted white, & the fence white-washed. It includes 7/8 of an acre. We ascend from the house two steps in each division. The passages have no gates, only a naked arch with a key stone frame, of wood painted white above 10 feet high. Going into the Garden they look better than in returning, in the latter view they appear from the unequal surface to incline toward the

¹⁷ George Heussler, 1751–1817; see the writer's paper "An American Gardener of the Old School," *Landscape Architecture*, XV (1925), 70–75.

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Hill. The Strawberry beds are in the upper garden, & the whole divisions are not according to the plants they contain. The unnatural opening of the Branches of the trees is attempted with very bad effect. Beyond the Garden is a spot as large as the Garden which would form an admirable orchard now improved as a Kitchen garden, & has not an ill effect in its present state. The Gardener has only come this year, & is not accountable for the arrangement. It was extremely neat, & in comparison had by no means an ill effect. The House is [lined?] with a superb fence, but is itself a mere country House, one story higher than common with a rich owner.

June 22, 1792 [I, 374]. By invitation from Mr. Derby the Clergy spent this afternoon at the Farm in Danvers. We were regaled at our arrival, after the best liquors at the house, with a feast in his Strawberry beds. They were in excellent order & great abundance. He measured a berry, which was 2 inches $1\frac{1}{2}$ in circumference. We saw whole nurseries of Trees, such as Buttons, fruit trees, & the Mulberry . . . This garden is much improved since I was here last. We saw potatoes called early, brought from the Nova Scotia, & upon opening the hills, they were large as eggs at the present time. (June 22). Besides the garden we saw a great variety of animal life. The Swan, a stranger among us, from Virginia. The Cape of Good Hope sheep with their remarkable tails, weighing 5 pounds, & used by the inhabitants as butter, but of very delicate fat. The Garden is on our right as we went westerly from the house, & the barns, nursery, &c. on the left . . . The German Gardener is yet upon the Farm.

April 11, 1797 [II, 219]. Visited Mr. Derby's garden in Danvers . . . Every year the arrangements are more extensive and happy. [The summer-house had been built since his last visit.]

Nov. 6, 1797 [II, 244]: We . . . visited Mr. Derby's Farm, & were received by the Gardener, Mr. Heusler, an Alsace man, with the good sense & good manners not always found in that condition. In private conversation he could not refrain from blame upon John Tracey who invited him from Holland, & in the perplexity of Bankruptcy cast the poor stranger unpaid upon the world. . . .

June 19, 1800 [II, 341]: Stopped at Mr. Derby's Garden in which we received the utmost attention of Mr. Heusler the Gardener. He first fed Cherries, & Strawberries, & then exhibited the Luxuries of the place. We saw Lemons growing in the Hot House. A great variety of the Aloe plant was shewn us. We were shown 5 species of the Geranium. We saw the prickly pear in flower, & received some of the flowers.

Oct. 24, 1801 [II, 399]. We passed to Col. Derby's farm. He [Elias Hasket, the son] has added nothing to what his father had done.

The artistic aspects of the garden are better suggested by a letter of Eliza Southgate, July 6, 1802:

In the afternoon rode out to Hasket Derby's farm, about 3 miles from Salem, a most delightful place,—the gardens superior to any I have ever seen of the kind; cherries in perfection! We really feasted! There are 3 divisions in the gardens, and you pass from the lower one to the upper thro' several arches rising one above the other. From the lower gate you have a fine perspective view of the whole range, rising gradually until the sight is terminated by a hermitage. The summer house in the center has an arch thro' it, with 3 doors on each side which open into little apartments and one of them opens to a staircase by which you ascend into a square room, the whole size of the

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building; it has a fine airy appearance and commands a view of the whole garden; two large chestnut trees on each side almost shade it from my view when seen from the sides . . . The room is ornamente[d] with some Chinese figures . . . The hermitage . . . was scarcely perceptible at a distance; a large weeping willow swept the roof with its branches and bespoke the melancholy inhabitant. We caught a view of the little hut as we advanced thro' the opening of the trees; it was covered with bark; a small low door, slightly latched immediately opened at our touch; a venerable old man was seated in the center with a prayer book in one hand while the other supported his cheek, and rested on an old table which, like the hermit, seemed moulding to decay . . . a tattered coverlet was spread over a bed of straw . . . I left him impressed with veneration and fear which the mystery of his situation seemed to create . . . We returned to the house, which was neat and handsome, and from thence visited the green house, where we saw oranges and lemons in perfection . . . every plant and shrub which was rare and beautiful was collected here . . . at the upper end of the garden there was a beautiful arbour formed of a mound of turf and 'twas surrounded by a thick row of poplar trees which branched out quite to the bottom and so close together that you could not see through.

We see that the plan of the garden was still essentially formal, with a long axial path marked by arches and other features, although the sentimental idea of the hermitage belonged to the thought of the landscape school, which triumphed in the grounds of the Derby mansion in Salem. The "venerable old man" was doubtless the figure of the Hermit carved by the Skillins.

The Derby farm passed by deed of October 14, 1800 to Hasket Derby the younger, and was conveyed by him in 1805 to his cousin Jacob Crowninshield, Member of Congress, who himself died in 1808. In 1814 it was occupied by his brother Richard (Bentley, IV, 301). On a division of Jacob's estate in 1825 the farm-house went to his daughter Mary, who married William P. Endicott. In 1832, after being leased for some years for occupancy as a tavern, it was sold out of the family, belonging for many years (after 1848) to Kendall Osborn and his descendants. One of them, Mrs. George L. Underwood, states¹⁸ that it was he who raised it on the stone underpinning and added the latticed doors seen in old photographs. In 1901 the late Mrs. William Crowninshield Endicott bought the summer-house and transported it to Glen Magna Farm, Danvers, where it remains.

In addition to the three summer-house drawings from the Derby family, there is one in McIntire's scrap-book, of generally similar character. Though drawn to scale, it has no dimensions which might indicate it actually came to execution. We know of but one other summer-house for which it might be the design, the one mentioned by Eliza Southgate in 1802 at the Derby house on Washington Street, early in John Derby's tenancy. The summer-house on the Beebe estate in Wakefield, Massachusetts, traditionally assigned to McIntire, would seem to have no connection with him.

¹⁸ *Old-Time New England*, XVI (1925), 54-64.

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Elias Hasket Derby Mansion

Essex Street

Built 1795-1799; demolished 1815

(Figures 114-152)

It was in 1795 that Elias Hasket Derby took the first steps toward erecting the great house which, among all the fine dwellings owned by him or others of the name, is still known universally as the "Derby Mansion." Although the earlier "great house" begun in 1780 still stood unfinished, and the house on Washington Street then occupied by the merchant and his family had been handsomely remodelled in 1786, a still more elaborate one was projected. Bentley, writing close to the event, states that the idea was one of Mrs. Derby, Elizabeth Crowninshield. "It was at her instigation," he notes April 19, 1799, "the Elegant Mansion house was built where Colonel Browne's stood" (II, 300). Mr. Derby himself seems to confirm the view by a letter written to his London agents in December, 1798, in which he says: "Mrs. Derby wants something to complete her house; she will write you. It is a business I know nothing of. I have given her an order for £120; you will do as she may direct with it."

The general plans, designs of interiors and detail drawings of the buildings are identified as Samuel McIntire's by his handwriting or signature, and there is no doubt that he was the architect of the building as executed. The design adopted had an interesting preliminary development, however, and proves to owe very much to one whose name had never been connected with it hitherto — Charles Bulfinch.^{18a}

Among the drawings for the house are four (Figures 114-117) which are alike in showing a technique very different from anything of McIntire's before this time. Three of these have legends in a single handwriting which is also not McIntire's, but that of some other person. Who this designer was, whose drawings have heretofore been published as McIntire's own, is revealed directly by a note written in Mrs. Derby's hand on the back of the plan: "Mr. Bulfinch's." To test the full validity of this ascription it is only necessary to compare the handwriting of the legends with that of the drawings by Bulfinch given by his granddaughter to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Every mannerism of Bulfinch's hand — the failure to loop the small *h*, the peculiar *g* and *t*, the *D* and *K*, and a score of other idiosyncrasies, above all the unmistakably individual writing of the abbreviation *ft.* with *f* and *t* crossed by a single rapid stroke — proclaim identity of authorship. At the same time one of the inscriptions of the plan, "Mr. Derby's Library," shows that Bulfinch prepared the drawings especially for the building under discussion and that they are not merely some drawings of his for another house which might have been loaned to the Derbys for reference. The general elevation checks with the plan in its widths, its heights again check with those of the detailed elevation and thus, in spite of certain variations natural in preliminary drawings, the designs form a coherent set.

The derivation of this design of Bulfinch's itself and its relation to his other work now becomes of interest. The façade, so different from pre-Revolutionary work in its Palladian ordonnance, is based indirectly on the famous design of Lord Burlington for General

^{18a} These conclusions were published by the writer in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LX (1924), 273-292.

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Wade's house in London (Figure 118). This had already been reproduced in the Provost's house in Dublin, of which Bulfinch himself owned a print, in Malton's views of Dublin, a part just issued in February, 1794 (Figure 119). Like these, Bulfinch's elevation shows an order of pilasters framing bays with rusticated arches and square-headed windows, a wider bay with a Palladian window in the center, and a high basement with rusticated piers. For the Doric order, however, Bulfinch substituted the Corinthian, with a corresponding change in the decorative detail, which includes the delicate garlands, the rosettes and reedings of the Adam manner, of which he was the first protagonist in New England. Omission of the rustication was evidently preferred. A striking modification, and one which can scarcely be regarded as successful in relation to the unity of the design, is the addition of pairs of small Ionic columns in the ground story to frame the entrance and carry a light balcony. The elliptical central arch is metamorphosed into a doorway with fan-light and side-lights, a feature here introduced for the first time in New England. Balancing outbuildings connected with the main house by colonnades, suggest those of Chesterfield house in London, even more than those of the Dublin model.

The perspective drawing, of which the present whereabouts is unknown to the writer, is accessible through photographs taken a generation ago. Long before this it had been reproduced in a poor woodcut in Felt's *Annals of Salem* (2d edition, 1845), and has ever since been erroneously supposed to represent the house as it was actually built. It is of special importance as one of the very first examples of this method of representing a proposed building to be attempted in the United States. Latrobe, who had a thorough mastery of the science did not reach this country until 1796, and his earliest architectural perspective here is from 1799. Jefferson, although eager to master the subject, did not attempt one until about 1820, and then with little success. The only known perspectives here which are earlier are the two submitted by the English schoolmaster Andrew M. Carshore, of Claverack, New York, in the competition for the Capitol and the President's house in 1793. Bulfinch gave much study to the subject, as his manuscript treatise on it in the architectural library at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology evidences, and in 1795, as long afterwards, he was the only man in New England capable of making a drawing such as the one in hand. The method used in the drawing is one of those which Bulfinch discusses in his treatise, namely, "Kirby's method" of employing parallel perspective with the vanishing point so far to one side as to show a side façade, though not without distortion. This method, which permitted the main façade to be drawn as if in elevation, was naturally a popular one with the self-taught American masters, being used by Jefferson, likewise, for his single experiment.

The design of the building as shown in the perspective differs in certain particulars from that in the elevation, partly perhaps as a result of revelations made in the course of perspective study. In the elevation there are no windows above those of the main story, and an upper story, if one was there intended, could have been lighted only from the ends, as in the London and Dublin prototypes. In the perspective the range of upper windows which appears on the end of the building is carried around on the front between the pilasters, making the order embrace two stories — a concession to practical utility which Lord Burlington would not make. A cupola, monumental in character, but likewise of practical value in Salem, was added over the center of the building.

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The plan presented several features novel in Salem and first introduced into New England by Bulfinch — a stair with circular turns placed to one side of the hall and distinct from it, a groin vault of plaster at the intersection of passage and hall, a vista through a glass door into the garden, and others. Noteworthy and new in the town was the freedom by which the arrangement was adapted to the location and exposure, the house facing north on the principal street, but having the chief living rooms placed *en suite* along the south and thus having a garden front rather than a rear. Wing-like projections gave the "Sitting-room" an outlook to the street.

These wing-like projections had already been used, presumably by Bulfinch, in the house of Hon. Thomas Russell in Charlestown, of which there is a plan among the Derby drawings with a legend by Mrs. Derby: "Mr. Russells" (Figure 120). This house, burned in 1835, was unfinished at the death of the owner in April, 1796,¹⁹ and, with the Joseph Barrell house, represented the very latest fashion. The front parlors had grouped windows; the stairs, placed centrally, wound up around a well with wide semi-circular turns. The Barrell house, also in Charlestown, built in 1792, had been the very first in which Bulfinch had embodied the new style compounded of elements observed abroad. It had not only a double stair with semi-circular turns, but an elliptical drawing-room in form and position like the typical French salon of Louis XV, projecting broadwise in the centre of the garden front (Figure 122). Above it, toward the garden, was a curved projecting portico of tall columns (Figure 123).

Bulfinch's design seems to have been but one of those secured by the Derbys in preparation for their ambitious project. There is another set of drawings which has reference to it (Figures 124-127). One of them bears on the back the note: "Plans sent out for Elias H. Derby's house," and, in Mrs. Derby's writing: "Haskets new york loer rume" (i.e. lower story); while another has the legend: "Curnall Smith's House Philadelfe." They show a house with a projecting octagonal drawing-room toward the garden, alcove bedrooms, and elaborate service quarters in the basement which suggests that the designer was familiar with domestic arrangements in England. The only prominent Philadelphian Smith who might have built such a house was Jonathan Bayard Smith, who had indeed been Lieutenant Colonel of the Philadelphia Associators, who served in the Brandywine Campaign, but as he had been Justice of the Court of Common Pleas since 1778 he would probably have been called Judge Smith. *The* Colonel Smith in 1795 would have been William Stephens Smith of New York, who was an aide of Washington, and had married Abigail Adams. His great house on the East River, Mount Vernon or "Smith's Folly," had a central pediment above a long front porch,²⁰ and thus was unlike the design preserved among the Derby papers.

Possibly their author was a certain Jonathan West if they are the ones referred to in the entry in the Derby accounts²¹ recording that Jonathan West was "paid for plans of a house

¹⁹ J. F. Hunnewell: "A Century of Town Life; a History of Charlestown, Massachusetts" (1888). J. B. Wyman: "Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown" (1879), II, 834.

²⁰ It is shown in a drawing reproduced by Alice G. B. Lockwood in "Gardens of Colony and State" (1931) 264. The place was bought in 1798 by William T. Robinson, and he it was who built the carriage house and stable with the date 1799 in the gable, which still stands in East Sixty-first Street, having been transformed into a dwelling in 1826 by Joseph C. Hart. The superficial resemblance of this building to the design preserved in Salem is thus not significant.

²¹ Published by Mabel M. Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 282.

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£10," but it is also possible that plans he made are those reproduced in Figures 131-133.

Evidently none of the designs so far proposed wholly satisfied the Derbys who wished to incorporate in their house also the outstanding features of the Barrell and Russell houses. This was McIntire's opportunity. Bulfinch's drawings had come to him as a revelation, both in style and technique, but he proved capable of rising to the occasion. It is clear that he had set himself resolutely to master the new gospel which Bulfinch had brought from abroad. He had taken a plan of the Russell house (Figure 120), he had sketched details of it (Figure 121) and of the oval room of the Barrell house (Figure 128.)²² Even a trifle before the Derby house, probably, he had adopted the scheme of this room for the Lyman house in Waltham, and had adopted Bulfinch's curved portico at a small scale for the doorway of the Nathan Read house in Salem.

His first study for the Derby mansion, it seems, had been an attempt to use the design which Bulfinch had made for the Derbys, as the basis of a remodelling of Colonel Browne's house, which stood on the new site. This house had been built by Hon. Samuel Browne, the greatest Salem merchant of his day, who died in 1731, and had been confiscated from his grandson, the loyalist Colonel William Browne. In 1784 it had been conveyed by the town to Elias Hasket Derby, and some work had been done there, as is attested by a receipt, October 25, 1785, from Angier McIntire, the brother of Samuel, for £45 "in part for finishing the Browns' house (so Called)." In 1793 it stood untenanted.²³ A study which Mrs. Derby marked "Mackentiers Plan for repairing mi browns olde House" (Figure 129), drawn on a kind of paper which McIntire was using in the nineties,²⁴ shows the introduction of Bulfinch's stairway with semi-circular turns, the old colonial stairway at the rear of the hall being cut off and relegated to secondary uses. There are outbuildings to the rear including a stable in the manner of Kent and a connecting shed with elliptic arches. The sacrifice of the garden front, and the absence of a suite along it, evidently proved fatal, and the idea of remodelling the Browne house was abandoned.

McIntire's next study (Figure 130), on the same kind of paper, had been a closer approximation to Bulfinch's design. All the leading features of the plan reappear, as well as the balancing outbuildings with connecting colonnades, and the details of windows in the principal story, but the façade of the house, more in the traditional academic manner, has a central pedimented pavilion with arches. Lines inexpertly drawn suggest enlargements of the plan, including especially lateral extensions of the garden suite, with an elliptical bow at the end of the drawing-room. It is clear that the Derbys were unsatisfied with this design, as with Bulfinch's own, and insisted on surpassing both the Barrell's and the Russell's by a combination of all the novel and preferred features.

This must have been the moment at which the plan of the house crystallized in the form displayed in all subsequent drawings: with long garden suite including an elliptical room in the middle of this front, and approach through a central stair-hall with open well and circular turns. It first appears in two drawings of unknown authorship (Figures 132, 133), the

²² He also took notes and dimensions of the details on a sheet pasted in one of his scrap-books.

²³ "Some Account of the Houses and Other Buildings in Salem," by Benjamin Pickman, 1793. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 94.

²⁴ It is identical with that of a receipt dated January 11, 1792, the ordinary period of use being about three years.

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latter with Mrs. Derby's note on the back "our House Plan." Although the sheets bearing the earlier of these drawings, unfinished and with uncertain dimensioning, was used by McIntire for drawing, on the back, his final third floor plan, and although the paper is of a kind frequently used by him at this period, the handwriting and technique are not his, any more than they are Bulfinch's or those of any other known designer or builder of the time. There is an elevation (Figure 131) by the same hand, revealed by the identity of dimensions and ink, and especially by similar use of cross-hatching in the darks. It takes one practical step beyond Bulfinch's elevation in giving the third story a window in the center, a semi-circular lunette such as Bulfinch had seen in the Bingham house in Philadelphia and had already used in Boston. There are a number of omissions and simplifications.

There follow two studies for the elevation by McIntire, on the same general scheme. One of these (Figure 134) shows by a date on the back, July 21, 1795, that the design was still being modified after work had been begun. The principal change in these studies was the breaking of the main entablature to give the windows of the upper story greater height from the floor (Figure 135). On the back of the drawing which shows this, apparently the final study, the insatiable Mrs. Derby still wrote: "is not large a-nuf." But it was too late to increase it, and, as we shall see, the executed building was of these dimensions.

The large working plans by McIntire (Figures 136-138) follow the final plan studies of unknown authorship with little variation. A few details are elaborated, such as the screens of columns in the second story halls. The southeast parlor is made symmetrical by a curve balancing the wall toward the oval room. Side-lights are added to the garden.

The interiors of the house are entirely of McIntire's design. Three of his drawings are preserved, for the northwest room (Figure 139) and the oval room (Figures 140, 143). They are much influenced by the "Vol. of Architecture by Paine," which appears in McIntire's inventory.²⁵ Of the numerous works published by William and James Pain, this would seem to have been their *Practical House Carpenter*, of which the fourth edition appeared in 1792. The doors of the northwest room, with their Corinthian half-pilasters, appear in Plate XLII (Figure 141). The ceiling of the oval room is composed from Plates XCII and XCIII (Figures 144, 145), the band of laurel in Plate XCII being closely followed. The details of mouldings are modified and combined from Plates LIII and LXXXIX; those of cornices from Plates XXXI and LVII-LX. Certain features seem to come rather from another work of the Pains, *The British Palladio* (1786 is the earliest edition I know), where Plate xvi (Figure 142) shows a mantelpiece with garlanded columns; and Plate xxx a door with full pilasters as in the oval room. The method of laying down the four sides of a room around its plan, not found in these works of Pain, was familiar to McIntire in Ware's *Complete Body of Architecture*, which he owned.

Bulfinch's suggestion for a pair of balancing outbuildings was retained by McIntire in substance (Figure 146), although he abandoned the pediment for a flat roof with urns.

For the garden the Derbys also sought suggestions from near and far (Figures 147, 149). The most competent of these was evidently made by someone who had never seen the land, for it has a legend conditional "if there is any Prospect that is agreeable." Evidently it was axiomatic that there should be an informal treatment, according to the ideals of the English

²⁵ Essex Probate Records, 380: 367, published above.

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school of landscape gardening, then just getting a foothold in America.²⁶ An exponent of this school, George Isham Parkyns, was in America in the years 1795 to 1800,²⁷ and it is possible that the plan sent from a distance is his work. This would not be unexampled, for Jefferson, writing in 1806 to William Hamilton of Philadelphia about the design of the grounds of Monticello, says "I had once hoped to get Parkins to go and give me some outlines, but I was disappointed." We shall see that none of the designs here reproduced was carried out.

The house was built by Daniel Bancroft, of whom, at the time of his death, Bentley has left us the only personal glimpse (IV, 525):

June 5, 1818 (Sat.) This week we buried Daniel Bancroft, Aet. 72. He was the most able Architect²⁸ we had. We gave more to the genius of Macintire, as a Carver, but as a practical man in every part of carpentry in house building, I have never known Mr. B's superior. His tool was sure and his judgment never questioned but by those who thought themselves authorized to examine it. He did the best work in Salem & was a great aid to the Craft. His judgment made them submit. He was from Reading. He has left a wife and children in competence.

The beginning of operations and the impression made on contemporaries are both recorded by Bentley, May 9, 1795: "The taking down of the large house of Col. Brown by Mr. Derby is a strange event in this Town, it being the first sacrifice of a decent building ever made in the Town to Convenience, or pleasure. . ." (II, 141).

The progress of the work, as well as the part of various builders and craftsmen in it, is best seen in the accounts and vouchers of Elias Hasket Derby himself.

An estimate, in McIntire's handwriting, but subscribed by Daniel Bancroft: "The above Estimate made by D. Bancroft for the above work," is as follows:

Framing the House at	£ 85: 0: 0
Raising Do. & finding Drink (but no Entertainment)	23 : 0
Boarding the Building & laying one under floor	32: 10: 0
Shingling	20: :
Ionic Cornice round the House	36: :
38 Window frames with Entablatures put up	57: :
23 Do. without Do.	21: 10:
2 Venetian Windows with Sashes fixed	20: :
Front and Back Frontispieces with Doors	10: 10:
one End Do.	10: :
Corner Boards, water tables, &c	7: 10:
Cellar Doors	1: 10:
Facia all Round y ^e House top y ^e lower Storie	7: :
Dado the Front	22: 10:
Clapboarding all but the Front	30: 10:

²⁶ Cf. Fiske Kimball: "The Beginnings of Landscape Gardening in America" in *Landscape Architecture*, VII (1917), 181-187.

²⁷ Bayley and Goodspeed in Addenda to William Dunlap: "Arts of Design" (1918 edition) III, 322; Scharff and Westcott: "History of Philadelphia" II (1884), 1057; P. Lee Phillips: "The Beginnings of Washington" (1917), 69-70.

²⁸ Although Bancroft did occasionally make drawings, Bentley here uses the word "architect" for "a chief builder" as in the old dictionaries before Johnson, a usage discussed in my "Thomas Jefferson, Architect" (1916), 29.

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Balustrades all round y ^e House	74: 10: :
Great Pilasters in Front	33: :
Balcony over the Front Door	6: :
Oval on y ^e Back side with Col. . . ?	85: :
100 Gallons Rum at 6 ^s per Gal	30: :
	£ 622: 0: 0

Bancroft's bill was adjusted March 23, 1798. From this it appears that he and his men did all the carpentry and woodwork except the carving and ornamental detail, which as we shall see, was done by McIntire. Some of the principal, significant items are:

1795	July	1	Framing and Finishing the outside of his House in Essex Street as per agreement	£ 621: 10: 0
			Extra dado the two front ends of the House	27: 0: 0
			Extra work on the portico	24: 0: 0
			Do. on the west porch	3: 0: 0
			Do. on the front Venetian window	2: 0: 0
	Sept.	26	to shoring cellar for the masons . . .	1: 10: 0
	Dec.	22	to 3½ days . . . on the circular window, back side, upper story	1: 11: 6
1796	April	12	to cutting 4 columns in Room of boring	9: 0
			to work from the 1st of May to the 5th of November 150 Days myself @ 12/	90: 0: 0
			to 123 Days of Ben Bancroft 6/	26: 18: 0
			to 130 Days of William 3/6	22: 15: 0
1797	April	18	to finishing the front entry and staircase	270: 0: 0
	May	27	to ½ Day on columns over Bow Room	4: 9
	June	17	to finishing the N. E. Lower Room and Chamber as per agreement 450 D.	135: 0: 0
	August	5	to ¾ Day of Daniel on Lantern	0: 6: 0
	Sept.	9	to 2½ Crumby planing floors	1: 4: 0
			Total to November 25, 1797	£ 1467: 8: 11

McIntire's bill for carving, paid June 18, 1798, includes the following:

Work for the outside of the new House, out Buildings, Fences, &c — Viz:			
Carving 4 Small capitals & 4 Roses for front Door at 30/			1: 10: :
50 Roses for the window Caps at 2/ each			5: :
6 large Ionic Capitals with leaves for ye Pilasters in front at 63/			18: 18: :
6 large Roses for front Entablature at 7/6			2: 5: :
Beads for the same Entablature 18/			: 18: :
56 feet large O. G. for Do. at /9d pr. ft.			2: 2: :
22 trusses for windows at 18			: 18: :
8 Ionic Capitals for front Portico 72 Dollars			21: 12: :
4 Do. for the west Porch 24 Dollars			7: 4: :
4 Ionic Capitals for window over front Portico 19 Dolls			5: 14: :
4 Do. over Bow Room at 16 Dollars			4: 16: :
4 Ionic Capitals for the large Columns over the Oval Room			21: 12: :
4 Ionic Capitals with leaves for the Back Frontespiece			6: 12: :
4 dropping festoons for Do. at 12/ each			2: 8: :

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4 Roses & 3 draperies for Do. 5 Dollars	1: 10:
2 Capitals for East Porch 14 Dollars	4: 4:
to Large draperie over Front windows 9 Dollars	2: 14:
to Carving large Vase for top of the Cupola at 6 Dollars	1: 16:
to Scrowling &c 8 Brackets for the Roof of the Cupola 4 Dolls.	1: 4:
Carving wreath incircling the Roof of Do. 12 Dolls.	3: 12:
16 Capitals (false Corinthian) for the Cupola 66 Dollars	19: 16:
to carving 9 vases for the low Building at 6/8 each	3: :
Do. 4 Do. for the Garden fence at 12/ each	2: 8:
4 Ionic capitals for the front of the out buildings 12 Dollars	3: 12:
8 Capitals for front Fence at 10/ each	4: :
To carving 6 Vases for front Fence at 14/ each	4: 4:
Do. 4 Smaller at 8/ each	1: 12:
to 4 Patria's for small Piers of front fence at 6/ each	1: 4:
to making a pattern to Cast some roses from	: 7:6
	£ 156: 12:6
Work within side the New House &c Viz:	
170 Trusses for the Cornice in the Dining Room at 2/ each	17: :
149 feet Beads at /4d. per foot. & 4 Composite Capatills at 40 Dolls.	14: 19:8
In the North West Room 230 feet Beads at /4d. per foot	3: 18:8
Carving 2 Columns & Capitals for Chimney piece 20 Dolls	6: :
festoons for 3 Doors 7 Dollars	2: 2:
In the North East Room & Chamber 180 Corinthian Medallions at 2/	18: :
4 Capitals for the Door and Chimnie piece at 3 Dolls each	3: 12:
26 feet Ribbon Bead at /6D. pr ft	: 13:
40 Draperies for Frize under ye Cornice in ye Chamber	9: :
3 Roses & Beads for Door Caps at 10/	10:
Carving the Miters of ye Cornice at 9/	9:
Carving 88 feet Ovolo at 1/6 pr ft.	6: 12:
In the North West Chamber 85 feet Ovolo at /9d. pr. ft.	3: 3:9
82 feet Small O. G. at /5d.	1: 14:2
85 feet Beads at /4d. pr. ft.	1: 8:4
In the South East Chamber 84 feet O. G. for Cornice at 1/6	6: 6:
8 Half Capitals for the Door Cases at 9/ each	3: 12:
198 feet Beads at /4d.	3: 6:
80 ft. Beads in the South West Chamber at /4D.	1: 6:8
to some Carving on a Chimney piece in S. E. upper Chamber	: 10:
90 feet Beads for Oval Room at /4d.	1: 10:
In the Great Entrie, Staircase, &c 80 feet Beads at /4d.	1: 6:8
Carving Brackets for front Staires	3: 15:
40 feet Roping for Do. 13/6	: 13:6
296 Corinthian Medillions at 2/ each	29: 12:
to Cabling for Door Cases 4 Dolls.	1: 4:
4 Capitals with leaves for Pilasters at 5 Dollars each	6: :
4 Corner Do. at 15/ each	3: :
2 Capitals with Leaves for Columns at 39/ each	3: 18:
8 Trusses for Doors & tablet over front door	3: 18:
28 Roses for the Soffit in the Chamber Entrie at 1/ each	1: 8:
20 Corinthian Capitals (one with the other) at 13 Dolls. each	78: :
	£ 238: 8:5

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Not all of the woodwork was done by Bancroft and by McIntire. The lantern or cupola at least was built under a separate agreement by William Merriam, his bill,²⁹ with a claim for extras, and certain other items being evidently submitted by Mr. Derby for the two principal craftsmen for their opinion:

E. Hersket Derby to William Meriam Dr 1796

to finishing one upper Chaimber	18: 0:0
two Days work on the End Steps	0: 18:0
to Bilding the Cupela	72: 0:0
to Leading the Roof and Canvising the same	2: 0:0
to forming and plaseing the Vase	2: 0:0
to makeing the fustoons and putting them up	0: 15:0
to making four Compos Head Windows Extry	4: 0:0
to Bilding Seats in the inside	0: 18:0
to putting up the Lightening Rod	0: 16:0
to Bilding the Back Steps	10: 0:0
to makeing twenty four shetter Leaves	8: 0:0
to fourteen Day Work on the back Railing	6: 6:0
to half Days Clearing the House	0: 5:0
to fiveteen Days Work Bilding the Gates	6: 15:0
	£ 132: 13:0
Steps to the Back Door at 24 Dollars	7: 4:0
Seats in the Lanthorn at 18/ fesstoons for ye Roof at 10/	1: 8:0
fixing the Urn on top of Do. at 27/	1: 7:
	£ 9: 19:0

as it was known to the workman before he agreed to Build the Lanthorne that all the windows were to be made as they are made, we think there cannot be an Extra Bill on that account it has been said that their was a particular agreement about Covering the Lanthorn if so we can say nothing about it but if there was none we think it falls into the job

Estimate made by Bancroft & McIntire on W. Merriam's a/c

A bill of the Skillins, December 10, 1799, shows that they carved certain fancy capitals for pilasters, at the high price of £15 each.³⁰

A further bill rendered after the merchant's death is as follows:

Estate of Elias H Derby Esq to Sam McIntire Dr

1799 June 18th to mending the head and stern work of the Ship Mount Vernon	£ 1- 4-0
July 11th to Carving 12 large Ropes @ 2/ each & 2 small @ 1	1- 6
to draperies for two fronts of the Summer House	1- 4
Aug ^t 10 to Carving 8 vases for Do @ 6/8 each	2- 13-4
	£ 6- 7-4

²⁹ Essex Institute. Elias Hasket Derby MSS, vol. 32.

³⁰ Cited by Mabel M Swan in *Antiques*, XX (1931), 342; XXI (1932), 86.

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The stucco-work which McIntire designed for the oval parlor was executed by Daniel Raynerd, who in 1806 collaborated with Asher Benjamin in *The American Builder's Assistant*, one of the first books to give American models of the Adam style. His bill, preserved by the Essex Institute, is as follows:

M^r Derby to Daniel Raynerd Dr

	<i>Sterling</i>
For Stucco woork done in Ovil Room	
101 yard plain Stucco woork at 9 d	£ 3-15- 9
1 Madallion of Figurs at 11Gs	11-11-
61 ft 10 inch frame Moulding 6 d	1-10-11
117 ft 8 inch Pannell Moulding 4 d	1-19- 2
55 ft 6 inch Reed Moulding at 4 d	-18- 6
13 ft 6 inch frame Moulding round Madallion at 1/9	1- 3- 7
44 sqr feet pannels at 3/6	7-12
28 feet Laurels at 1/6	2- 2
69 feet Husks at 6 d	1-14- 6
12 Ribbons at 1/	12
72 feet 10 inch Frize & Cornice at 5/6	19-19
4 Single Flowers at 10/6	2- 2
44 feet Fistoons & Trophies at 3/6	7-14
72 feet Coavd Ciling at 9d	2-14
124 feet Carvd pannal mouldings at 10d	5- 3- 4
31 feet inch d o. for Pilasters at 8d	1- 0- 8
6 Fistoons Vines at 10/6	3- 3
2 Figurs of Hope & Peace at 5 Gs	10-10
Sterling	£ 90- 1- 5

Salem 20 May 1797

Recued payment in full for
the above & all acct's to this Day

Dollars 400.25 cts

DANIEL RAYNERD

The wrought ironwork at the front door and elsewhere was ordered from a Boston smith; Ebenezer Leman is listed in several documents and occasioned a dispute, which illustrates the new requirements of slenderness made by the Adam style. On the merchant's refusal to pay the account of \$390 Leman went to court, and after losing in the Court of Common Pleas, appealed to the Supreme Court and secured a verdict with costs, finally compromising for \$350.

The house was scarcely completed and occupied when Mrs. Derby died, April 19, 1799, and her husband, September 8. He left his estate to his children in seven equal shares, the mansion house not being allotted to any single one. Contrary to the usual impression, however, it was not left vacant, but was occupied by the eldest son, Elias Hasket Derby, Jr. for ten years. Its glories during this period were recorded by Bentley (II, 34) "Sept. 6, 1800. Visited E. H. Derby to see the Curiosities from Italy he had collected. The marble & inlaid tables, the Bustos, & the Coins & the rich engravings formed a grand repast. He made me partake in his bounty. He has also enriched his Library with some views & contributed to introduce works of Taste into this Country."

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May 8, 1811, Bentley writes "Elias H. Derby has sold the Contents of his Green House. The Athenaeum contemplates to purchase his Library and he has removed to Ten Hills, Temple farm, Charlestown. It is expected the superb mansion will be for sale & be converted into an Hotel or Boarding House" (IV, 26-27). No purchaser appeared for the whole, however, and the family conveyed a portion of the site to the town to be used as a public market forever. Bentley records destruction of the house on November 20, 1815.

I took my last view of the mansion of the late eminent merchant E. H. Derby, situated easterly from the Old Meeting House in Essex Street & going back with its gardens to Front Street. It was the best finished, most elegant, & best constructed House I ever saw. It was entirely of wood with an excellent façade in the Ionic order, with a noble flight of marble steps to the top of the basement story. Its stucco work had nothing like it in the rotunda on the south side & the buildings and gardens were in exquisite taste. It had fallen to the oldest son who had left it. The heirs could not agree to occupy it & the convenience of the spot for other buildings brought a sentence of destruction on it & before the world it was destroyed from its foundations. I saw the front demolished and left in ruins [IV, 362].

The materials as advertised for sale in the *Salem Gazette*, December 9, 1815, give us further information regarding the house:

To-Morrow, at 10 o'clock,

At the Buildings adjoining the late Mansion of Gen. E. H. Derby, Essex Street The most valuable of the Materials of the house lately taken down:

Among which are

24 round and a half do Columns — Ionic Capitals — 12 Pilasters with Capitals — 40 half and quarter doric, ionic and fancy Capitals — 5 Glass Doors — About 60 round and square top brass sheve Window Frames with sashes, Glass 12 by 18 inches — 4 Iron frame handsomely ornamented Fan Lights — 14 sets Window and Door Blinds — 6 large sliding Windows 12 by 18 inch glass — 24 Urns — Draws 14 capt elegantly ornamented Door Frames — Pedestals for four large rooms and Cornices — Mouldings — the Cupola Frame, Windows, &c. complete — 8 richly ornamented Chimney Pieces — 18 large Window Caps — 50 Doors — 50 Window Shutters — 4 reflecting Windows, 53 squares, 12 by 18 inch — Mahogany Railing for stairs — 6 large Pilasters with Capitals — 2 large door Frames, containing 4 columns with Capitals handsomely ornamented and connected — 30 Mortice Locks of an excellent kind — Brass and common Hinges — 3000 lb. sheet and window Weights of Lead — 500 lb. Sheet Copper — 11 set Stone Jambs — 2 marble Chimney Pieces, one very elegant — 1 dark marble Hearth, 5 inches thick — Marble Slips for 6 fire places — Marble Tile — White Marble Steps, viz. 5 pieces 1 ft. 3 in by 16 ft and top 2 pieces 5 by 8 ft. — Iron Railing, about 40 feet, 3½ ft. high — Front Steps with end pieces — Posts and Chains — 7 Iron Backs — 1000 lb. old Iron — 15000 Nails — Lightning Rod, 100 feet — Set Rumford Apparatus complete — and many articles well worthy attention.

Also, at 12 o'clock,

The two Buildings, viz. one 57 by 18 feet — the other 90 by 18, with an L of 22 feet.

The Summer House. 12 feet square, 10 ft. stud, having 6 windows, &c. The articles may be examined two days previous to the sale.

JONATHAN P. SAUNDERS, *Auct.*

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But a single drawing is known showing the house as it was executed (Figure 150). It was by Robert Gilmor, a gentleman of Baltimore who came to Salem August 17, 1797, and wrote: "The principal merchant here, Mr. Derby, has just built a most superb house, more like a palace than the dwelling of an American merchant."³¹

A charming description of the house and grounds in the time of the younger Derby is given by Eliza Southgate:

Mr. Hasket Derby asked if we should not like to walk over to his house and see the garden; we readily consented, as I had heard much of the house. The evening was calm and delightful, the moon shone in its greatest splendor. We entered the house and the door opened into a spacious entry; on each side were large white marble images. We passed on by doors on each side opening into the drawing-room, dining-room, parlor, &c., and at the further part of the entry a door opened into a large, magnificent oval room, and another door opposite the one we entered, was thrown open and gave us a full view of the garden below . . . The large marble vases, the images, the mirrors to correspond with the windows, gave it so uniform and finished appearance that . . . everything appeared like enchantment.

. . . We descended into the garden, which is laid out with exquisite taste, and airy irregularity seems to characterize the whole. At the foot of the garden there was a summer house and a row of tall poplar trees which hid every thing beyond from the sight, and formed a kind of walk. I arrived there and to my astonishment found thro' the opening of the trees there was a beautiful terrace, the whole width of the garden; 'twas twenty feet from the street and gravelled on the top with a white balustrade round; 'twas almost level and the poplar trees so close that we could only occasionally catch a glimpse of the house. The moon shone full upon it, and I really think this side is the most beautiful, though 'tis the back one. A large dome swells quite to the chamber windows and is railed round on top and forms a delightful walk; — the magnificent pillars which support it fill the mind with pleasure.

We returned into the house and . . . entered the drawing room, which is superb, furnished with blue and wood color.³²

From all these evidences we are now in a position to conclude how far the drawings were followed in execution, and just what the house and grounds were like. From Gilmor's drawing and from the bills we see that on the garden front was a great segmental portico over the oval room, like that of the Barrell house. The swell of its roof, "railed on top," misled Eliza Southgate into calling it a dome, and she noted the "magnificent pillars." These figure in the McIntires' bill as "the large columns over the Oval Room"; their Ionic capitals, costing \$18 each, were the most expensive in the house.

On the entrance front, the final study (Figure 135) was closely followed in most respects, as we see by the items in McIntire's bill: "6 large Roses for front Entablature," "6 large Ionic Capitals with leaves," "4 Ionic Capitals for window over front Portico," and "Large draperie over Front windows." In spite of Mrs. Derby's annotation "is not large a-nuff" on this elevation, the figure of fifty-six feet of ogee for the main cornice would seem to establish that the length had not been increased. In several features the richer forms of Bulfinch's

³¹ "Memorandums made in a Tour to the Eastern States." Reprinted from a manuscript in the Boston Public Library, in its *Bulletins*, XI (1892-1893), 85.

³² Letter of July 6, 1802, in *Scribner's Magazine*, II (1887), 78-80, reprinted in E. S. Bowne "A Girl's Life Eighty Years Ago (1887).

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design were adopted. Both Bancroft's and McIntire's bills indicate the addition of a front portico, on the general lines of Bulfinch's frontispiece, but projecting more and having eight Ionic capitals — four of these doubtless pilaster capitals. In the front door with its four small capitals, and in the cupola, with its sixteen capitals (half of them for pilasters) Bulfinch's suggestions were also followed. Wherever there was an alternative Mrs. Derby chose the richer.

Beside the mansion house were two outbuildings, of which the dimensions are given in the advertisement of materials. The western one with its ell evidently extended back into the jog which appears on the west boundary of the plot. The summer-house which Eliza Southgate mentions "at the foot of the garden" and which the advertisement of the materials lists as "12 feet square, 10 feet stud, having 6 windows &c.," may be perhaps recognized as the one shown in the summer-house drawing Number 1, already discussed, which accords with these dimensions. Items in a bill of McIntire's to Derby:

July 11	to draperies for two fronts of the Summer house	1: 4:0
Aug 10	to carving 8 Vases for do at 6/8 each	2: 13:4

must refer to this summer-house.

The cost of the house is reputed to have been \$80,000. Actually the account for the house in Elias Hasket Derby's Ledger C, preserved by the Essex Institute, was closed by his executors at \$11,819. Bancroft's and McIntire's bills together amount to but a little over \$6,200. It appears that all materials were furnished by the owner, yet even with the value of the land and of Colonel Browne's demolished house, the furnishings, the outbuildings, and the gardens, the whole cost must have remained far below the reputed figure. In the inventory of Elias Hasket Derby's estate, dated March 4, 1805,³³ the "Mansion house and Land with the Buildings, Stores, Wharf and flatts" (distinct from the long Derby wharf) are valued at \$28,000.

Several pieces of woodwork still exist which are said to have come from the Derby mansion. Chief of these is a chimneypiece (Figure 151) which was for many years in the house occupied by Miss Alice R. Downing at 11 Linden Street in South Salem, and is now installed in a house at Hewlett, Long Island. According to family tradition it was acquired with other woodwork by her grandfather Arad Pomeroy and was until 1894 in a house at the corner of Salem and Dow Streets. The rest of this was destroyed with that house in the great fire of 1914. At the time of the first removal the center ornament was damaged and was replaced by a basket said to have been carved by Joseph True, McIntire's successor as the leading carver of Salem. The tradition of the origin of the mantel is supported by the spiral garlands of the columns, as well as the almost overlaid richness of the ornament.

The Essex Institute has a section of cornice (Figure 150), the gift of John Robinson, secured about 1875 from Henry A. Brown, who stated that it had come from the Derby mansion. It had been incorporated in a building on Sewall Street of which he had charge. It may well have formed part of the cornice of the northeast chamber, for which McIntire carved "40 Draperies for Frize under y^e Cornice." The Institute also preserves an urn from the fence, which is fluted and of a different form from the one shown in the Bulfinch perspective.

³³ Essex Probate Records, 372:332.

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One of the outbuildings, a coach house, was removed to Peabody and stood there on the estate of Dr. George Osborne until late in the nineteenth century.

The legend that the gateposts and much of the woodwork of the Derby mansion were used in adorning the Samuel Cook house at 142 Federal Street we shall undertake to refute in dealing with that house.

As we come to reconstruct the Derby mansion through the drawings, documents and extant remains, we acquire an aesthetic impression of its individual character. Among the many fine houses in the style which Bulfinch created, the house as it left McIntire's hands was marked by an unequalled opulence of feature and of ornament. The façade, less uniformly groomed than Bulfinch's initial design, had in spite of its refined proportions and detail, a touch of the unsophistication which so often gives its charm to the work of the early American builders. As one traversed the interior from front to rear, one enjoyed one of the finest sequences of spatial effects to be found in an American house. Outside and in, there was on every hand a profusion of beautiful detail, much of it from the hand of our most gifted decorative carver. When we take into consideration the harmony of the outbuildings and gardens, the rich and concordant furnishings, we may well doubt if there existed in the early republic a finer example of the American house.

William Orne House

93 *Washington Street*

Built 1795; destroyed by incorporation in the Hubon Block, 1862

Principal owners: Orne, White

(Figures 153, 154)

The land, of about forty poles, on which the house itself stood, was deeded by John Templeman on December 3, 1794 to William Orne for £400 (159:1). Although "buildings" are mentioned, it is evident from the price that these were not important. Describing the houses of the street individually in 1793, Colonel Benjamin Pickman mentions at this point only one "owned by Edward Smith, and occupied by Edward Killings who keeps a shop."³⁴ This, which was a little to the south of the property first mentioned, was also bought by Orne, July 17, 1798 (164:111), the intervening land having been acquired by him in 1796 (162:8).

This train of events, in conjunction with an excellent old photograph which we reproduce, makes clear that Orne proceeded immediately to build, on the narrow plot first acquired, a narrow and very deep house, facing south. The acquisition of the two other plots and the removal of Smith's house to another site gave Orne's house a very large yard on the south before the façade. As it is inconceivable that the house would have been placed in this position and given such an elongated form had all this land been already available, we must conclude it was built precisely in 1795.

This magnificent house, hitherto entirely overlooked, is surely to be attributed to the design of Samuel McIntire, of whom both the general form and every detail are characteristic. We may mention the perfect symmetry of the façades, the academic correctness of the pedi-

³⁴ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 101. Edward Stanley Waters discussed the property, *ib.*, VII (1865), 94.

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mented Doric doorway with its free-standing and three-quarter columns, the elaboration of the window caps, the eaves-balustrade, the arcaded sheds to the rear. From the fence, which cannot have reached its full extent before 1798, one of the carved urns is preserved by the Essex Institute; it is a typical example of McIntire carving.

Like the Forrester house of 1791, the Orne house has quoins at the corners, a treatment found in McIntire's work only during the decade following that. Compared with his Read house and other works just after 1793, all strongly under the influence of Bulfinch, the Orne house is conservative, still preserving some of the academic flavor of McIntire's work before that date.

Following the death of William Orne in 1815, his heirs divided his estate by indenture of April 1, 1818 (217:159), his son Joseph Orne taking the Court (Washington) Street property. He died very soon after, and his widow, on June 14, 1819 (221:110), deeded the property to Eliza Wetmore, the widowed daughter of William Orne, the price being the high one of \$10,000. The same year she married Daniel Appleton White, after whose death in the mid-nineteenth century the house was built into the Hubon Block, 1862.

Unidentified House

Designed about 1795

(Figure 155)

The blank in McIntire's title on the drawing: "Sketch of a Brick House planed [*sic*] for. . ." suggests that the plan was made without a specific client in mind, and may never have been executed. It does not correspond in its dimensions and arrangement of chimneys with any remaining house of the period in Salem.

The date is suggested by the paper employed, which is the same as that used for one of McIntire's studies for the Derby mansion, 1795.

Fence and Stable for Joseph Sprague

376 Essex Street

Built about 1796; demolished about 1902

Principal owners: Sprague, Rogers, Waite

(Figures 156, 157)

The house at this address was built by Joseph Sprague in 1796 according to the recollections of Oliver Thayer, who was born next door.³⁵ There is no reason to suppose that the stable and fence, which old photographs show to have had an authentic McIntire character, were executed far from this date. The stable shows a central arch of bold and decided proportions and detail. The admirable fence, with its unfluted Ionic pilasters, was salvaged and adapted for use in the gates at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers. One of the original urns is preserved by the Essex Institute.

The house itself may conceivably be a work of McIntire, but its plan, as revealed by the fenestration and chimneys, does not conform with any of his plans which survive. Both

³⁵ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXI (1884), 214-215.

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doorways were changed at an early date, and there is little detail on which an attribution could rest.

In the nineteenth century the house was occupied by Aaron Waite, who died in 1826, and later by his daughter and her husband, Nathaniel Leverett Rogers.

The Assembly-House

138 Federal Street

Built 1782; remodelled about 1796

Principal owners: Waldo, Putnam, Chase

(Figures 158-161a)

The design of the front has its notes and dimensions in McIntire's handwriting, and is undoubtedly drawn by him.

The house, in a much simpler form intended for social assemblies and concerts, is reputed to have been built in 1782. To judge by later deeds the cost seems to have been borne by some twenty gentlemen, each holding one or more out of a total of approximately sixty shares. The land under it was not owned by them, but formed part of a tract belonging to Daniel Mackey, who was apparently not one of their number, and permitted the structure to be erected on a corner of his ground. The first document I have found which may relate to this building³⁶ is in connection with the visit of Lafayette, who was entertained in Salem October 29, 1784. It is a bill of Samuel McIntire, preserved at the Peabody Museum:

Salem 3d Nov 1784

Mr Francis Cabot to Sam. McIntire Dr

to fixing the temporary Tables in Concert Hall
the 28 Oct at 28/ 1 1—8—0

Salem: 16th Decr 84, the above Contents of James Jeffry

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The proprietors seem to have felt the insecurity of their situation, for on August 18, 1785 (144:271) eight of them joined in purchasing from the estate of Joseph Dowse a piece of land immediately west of the house and sufficient in area to receive it in case of need. Thus protected, the proprietors continued to use the house as it stood, and there Washington attended the Assembly on October 29, 1789.

In 1793 the question of tenure apparently became acute. January 29 there appeared in the *Salem Gazette* an advertisement calling for proposals, to be received up to February 4, for removing the Assembly-house "about 60 feet west of its present situation." Whether the estimates of cost received were excessive, or whether the proposition of moving was itself a threat to bring Mackey to terms, the matter was happily settled within a few days without the necessity of moving the house. February 9 (156:244) Mackey sold to a group acting for the proprietors a sufficient plot under and about "the Assembly House standing thereon."

³⁶ It speaks of "Concert Hall," and may refer instead to a hall in the market house on Central Street. Cf. a note of George B. Loring in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 94. Bentley several times alludes to "Concert Hall" from 1796 onwards (II, 190, 300, etc.).

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There was no further point in holding the land purchased from Dowse, and the bulk of it was sold off August 4, 1794 (158:171), a corner only being retained to square up the Mackey plot. So matters remained for over a year thereafter.

In November, 1795, the proprietors must have concluded to sell the property, house and land, to Jonathan Waldo. Waldo was a partner of William Stearns (himself now holding the largest share of the Assembly-house property) in the erection of the Stearns Block, and it seems probable that he may have persuaded the members to transfer the Assemblies to Washington Hall in the new building, offering as an inducement to buy the Assembly-house from them. It took eighteen separate deeds to convey to him the eight shares of the Dowse corner, and the many shares of "the Assembly house . . . and all the land under and adjoining the said Assembly house which the proprietors thereof purchased of Daniel Mackey and in and of all furniture chandeliers and other articles appertaining to said house."

It is interesting to record the names of the grantors, for, so far as the writer knows, no list of the early proprietors of the Salem Assemblies has heretofore been published. In 1795-1796 they were, in the order of the extent of their interest: William Stearns, Francis Cabot, John Norris, Joshua Ward, Isaac Osgood, Edward Pulling, Benjamin Pickman, John Fisk, John Page, Peter Lander, Samuel Blanchard, William Gray, William Prescott, Jonathan Haraden, Jacob Ashton, Edward Holyoke, William Pickman, Benjamin Goodhue and Archelaus Putnam — the last four with one share each.

The earliest of the deeds is dated November 21, 1795, and eight of them were passed that month, but it took Waldo until June 24, 1796 to secure the remainder, the total cost, at an average price of about \$25 a share, being a little over \$1,600. All this time, as several of the deeds recite, Waldo was "in the actual and peaceable possession of the premises."

He it was who remodelled the building as a dwelling, at the same time greatly enriching the front. The paper on which McIntire's drawing of the façade is made is of a kind he used for the plans and interior details of the Derby mansion, begun in 1795, and for the Branch Church, begun in 1804. The builder will have been Daniel Bancroft, who so often executed McIntire's designs; a drawing for the front, in his clumsy technique, also survives at the Essex Institute. Waldo occupied the house but a short time after its completion, for on July 24, 1798 (164:111) he sold it as "my mansion house and land in Federal Street," to Samuel Putnam for \$2,666.

Judge Putnam will have made some further improvements to the house, for the character of the cornice in the southeast room of the second floor points to a date about 1810. On his removal to Boston in 1833, he deeded the property to Benjamin P. Chamberlain (217:18), who sold it August 1, 1856 to Anna, wife of Stephen A. Chase (536:162). The portico with its frieze of heavy carved grape, appears to have been added during Chamberlain's occupancy. Later occupants have been Mrs. Chase's brother, Sylvester C. Robinson, 1878-1883, Mary A. Bertram, 1883-1909, George Upton, 1910-1918/9 and Joseph Newton Smith, 1920-present.

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Belfry of the North Meeting-House

Corner of Lynde and North Streets, Salem

Church built 1772; cupola added 1796; building demolished 1835

(Figures 162, 163)

The belfry shown in the drawing is readily identified as that of the North Meeting-house by the three existing views of the church, the best of which is reproduced for comparison.

Bentley notes on August 21, 1796: "This day the frame of the cupola upon the North Meeting House was raised, which takes the place of the ponderous steeple which was lately taken away. It is about thirty feet in the place of seventy feet" (II, 193). Further particulars of the history of the church may be found in *The First Centenary of the North Church in Salem*, 1873.

On February 7, 1811, the day after McIntire's death, Bentley writes: ". . . the present Court House, the North and South Meeting houses, and indeed all the improvements of Salem for nearly thirty years past have been under his eye" (IV, 6). The drawing is pasted into McIntire's large scrap-book of his own designs. Thus, although it bears no writing or figures, there is no doubt that he was the author of the design. As coming from immediately after McIntire's opportunity to study Bulfinch's rendered drawings for the Derby mansion, this was the first of his own elevations to be rendered. In spite of a certain clumsiness in the washes it shows how successful McIntire was at once in making the new technique his own.

Plan for a House for Nathan Read, Danversport

Designed about 1798

Principal owners: Read, Crowninshield, Porter

(Figures 164, 165)

The plan, in McIntire's technique and handwriting, drawn on paper water-marked 1795, is marked on the back "at the Iron Factory near Waters River."

Obviously it was designed for Nathan Read, whose town house on Essex Street we have already discussed. "On March 30, 1792, Nathan Read bought for £370, from Joseph Endicott of Danvers, a house, barn, etc., and 34 acres of land bordering on Waters River and in that part of Danvers called 'the Neck of Land.'"³⁷ He removed to this house April 4, 1795.³⁸ Bentley saw this old house still standing September 21, 1796 (II, 197), at which time the construction of mill works was well begun. On February 9, 1797, he "found that an experiment had been made and that they expected to work next week."

It will have been at about this time that Read called on McIntire for the plan of a new house "at the Iron Factory." We do not know when Read actually proceeded to build, but in due time the old farmhouse was removed to another site in Danvers and a fine mansion house was erected.

This house (Figure 165), still standing, does not conform at all to our plan, being L-shaped instead of square, and having its chimneys in the end walls instead of in the parti-

³⁷ Francis B. C. Bradlee: "The Salem Iron Factory." *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LIV (1918), 97-114.

³⁸ David Read: *Nathan Read* (1870), 7.

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tions. The house contains a simple stairway with a semi-circular turn, and some excellent mantels with composition ornaments but no carving, so that we cannot be certain that McIntire was concerned with them, any more than we can be that he drew the final plan.

In 1807 Read removed to Belfast, Maine, and sold the house, August 12, as Bradley relates, "to Benjamin Crowninshield, master mariner of Salem, for \$11,250. Benjamin Merrill, administrator of the estate of Benjamin Crowninshield, sold the estate to Benjamin Porter of Marblehead, on October 2, 1837," and the property subsequently remained in the Porter family.

Ezekiel Hersey Derby House

204-206 *Essex Street*

Built about 1800

Principal owners: Derby, Crowninshield, Rogers

(Figures 166-182)

Elias Hasket Derby bought the land, with buildings, of John Saunders December 10, 1795 (159:202). By his will, made September 4, 1799 and filed October 7, he left to his son Ezekiel Hersey Derby a seventh part of his estate, including "the house and land in Essex Street . . . which I purchased of John Saunders in which said Ezekiel Hersey now lives and which I estimate at the sum of Three Thousand Three Hundred and Forty Dollars. . . ."

For the house then built on this lot designs were secured from Bulfinch, as in the case of the mansion across the way. He prepared several sets of drawings, recognizable as his by the legends in his handwriting. It appears probable that the earlier ones preceded the death of the elder Derby, several outline studies (Figures 166-168) being on paper water-marked 1794 and a set of rendered drawings (Figures 169-171) on paper water-marked 1795, such papers being used, on an average, three or four years after their manufacture. The three alternative outline studies are interesting variants of a deep and narrow plan, three bays to the street, having the entrance at the front or the side, the main stairs circular or oval. The plan of the rendered set combines several of the motives, placing the entrance on the side yard and using the oval staircase with the kitchen in a wing at the rear. The façades have pilasters above a basement, a single pair toward the street, four toward the yard.

The house as erected does not follow these designs, but others apparently made after the heir had entered on his inheritance. They begin with two plans (Figures 172, 173) which are neither by Bulfinch nor by McIntire, with writing in some unidentified hand. They propose making the house four bays wide on the street, with the entrance there, a double parlor to the right, small rooms to the left. This is the scheme adopted in the final plans by Bulfinch (Figures 174, 175), which show a large semi-circular staircase like the one executed. The front (Figure 176) shows the end bays framed by Ionic pilasters, above a shallow arcade about the windows and door of the ground story. The second floor plan of this set is on paper water-marked 1798.

The house will presumably have been under construction from about 1800, and will doubtless have been occupied for some time when Margaret Holyoke entered in her diary, February 8, 1804, "Ball at Mr. Hersey Derby's."³⁹

³⁹ "Holyoke Diaries" (1911), 144.

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In the execution the skill of McIntire was employed in the delicate carving of the doorways, arches, mantels and dados, as well as in the ornaments of the front.

The house, sold April 11, 1809, stood substantially intact in possession of the related Crowninshield and Rogers families. In 1874 it was bought by William Maynes, who in 1908 converted it into business premises as the Maynes Block. The lower story was defaced by ignoble shop windows. The upper stories descended to banal uses, and from time to time their remaining ornaments were removed. The mantel shown in our Figure 182 belonged in 1935 to Mrs. Clarke Walling of Boston. The composition panel in the mantel shown in Figure 183 was also removed some years ago. This latter mantel itself is installed at Moor's End, Nantucket. These were both from the third floor of the house. The woodwork and plaster cornice from the southeast room on the second floor, together with the mantel from the room above, an arch, two doorways, and the ceiling ornament of the hall are now installed in the Philadelphia Museum of Art as the gift of George Horace Lorimer (Figures 178, 179). Another arch is installed in the house of Henry F. du Pont, Winterthur, Delaware. The whole lower floor is now occupied by one large shop, the second floor has been stripped and is vacant, and the façade has been badly damaged.

The buildings included a fine stable, of which only inadequate photographs survive.

Oak Hill

Peabody, Massachusetts

Built 1800-1801; further embellished 1813-1814

Principal owners: West, Rogers

(Figures 9, 183-202)

The history of the house has been published by Edwin J. Hipkiss of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in his volume *Three McIntire Rooms* (1931), à propos of the parlor, dining-room, and parlor chamber installed at the Museum since 1928. Only the most important points need to be recalled here. The property was bought of John Epes by Elias Hasket Derby in 1789 and bequeathed to his eldest daughter Elizabeth, wife of Nathaniel West, in 1799. The front portion of the house was added in 1800-1801 between two visits of Bentley, June 19, 1800 (II, 341) and October 24, 1801 (II, 400). Mrs. West was divorced in 1806 and henceforth was known as Madame Elizabeth Derby. The front portico, to judge by the split dentils of its internal bed-mould will scarcely date before 1808. In 1813-1814 the house was considerably enriched by further carvings executed by McIntire's son, Samuel Field McIntire. In 1878 it was remodelled for Mrs. Jacob Crowninshield Rogers by her brother Francis Peabody, the architect. He replaced the original stairway, which had a semi-circular turn, by one of an earlier type, added bays on the south, a large wing to the north, beside making some changes in the parlor. The capitals, at least, of the side porches are modern. At this time one mantel was removed to The Lindens, Danvers (since reerected in Washington), and placed in one of the bedrooms. After the death of Mrs. Rogers, the Museum in Boston acquired the entire woodwork of the two front rooms on the ground floor and that of one of the principal bedrooms, together with the mantel from another bedroom, the caps of two doors in the lower hall, and the casing of the front doorway. As installed in the Museum



Figure 10. South Church, Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, 1803–1804.
Destroyed by fire, 1903.



Figure 11. John Gardner (Pingree) House, 128 Essex Street, 1804-1805.

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the disposition of these elements was changed in some instances. The illustrations credited to the Museum show the work as installed there; the others were taken before its removal.

The attribution of the work of 1800-1801 to Samuel McIntire rests, in the absence of any documents, on his general relation as architect to the Derbys, and on many similarities of detail with his work. It will suffice to note the relationship of the parlor and dining-room chimneypieces with that of the Adam parlor of the Peirce-Nichols house. As in the Derby mansion, some of the doorways are flanked with half-pilasters, a treatment suggested, with other details, by Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*.

The work of Samuel F. McIntire, just before Madame Elizabeth Derby's death in 1814 is detailed in his bill belonging to the Museum of Fine Arts and published by Mr. Hipkiss, which we emend from the original manuscript which he has kindly furnished, as follows:

Madam Elizabeth Derby to Saml F. McIntire Dr.

May 29 1813

		To 24 feet O G moulding 6½ Ct pr foot	1.56
June	18	To 9 foot Beads	.27
	22	To 2 Door Caps By Agreement	11.00
		To 2 Large Eagles for fence	9.00
		To 4 Urns for fence	3.33
		To 2 Butter Stamps	1.00
		To 1 Composition Basket and 7 feet Beads	0.33
		To 2 Caps for Doors	1.50
		To moulding for Door	1.50
		To Honey Suckel for 2 Doors	6.50
		To Rose and Ring	.50
		To 1 pr Pilester Drops and Blocking Grape and Horns plenty	3.50
Aug	22	To a Frise for Chimney pier	6.35
		To 90 Pattres @ 56 ct Each	4.50
		To 4 Caps	4.00
	30	To 8 Bird Blockings	5.00
Sept	13	To 4 Dishes of Fruit for front Windows	12.00
		To a Frise of Grape Vine	6.35
		To Stuff for the Same and fixing	0.75
	25	To pre Blockings Grape for the Same	1.50
		To 98 Reed Roses @ 6 Cents Each	5.88
Oct	20	To 8 Reed Do	0.48
Nov	2	To 2 Baskets and pr Horns plenty hard Wood	9.00
		To 1 pr Wheat Blockings	1.50
	3	To 4 Ovil Roses	1.50
	20	To 2 Colomns Grape Vine and Capitals By agreement	13.00
		To 1 Hard Wood Basket	3.00
		To 1 pr Do Blockings Urns	2.00
Decr	9	To 4 Blockings of Rose and Fruit ec	4.00
	1814		109.80
March	3	To 8 Ovil Roses	1.33
			111.13

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No attempt is made in Mr. Hipkiss's book to distinguish the details executed by the father from those by the son, but this bill, with other material here published, enables us to go a considerable way in identifying them. Thus the "8 Bird Blockings" and "4 Dishes of Fruit for front Windows" may be readily recognized (Figure 188), and show a substantial difference from the father's touch and treatment of the same motives. Eagles of the same type as those of the front windows occur also on a hall doorhead of the second story, with an anthemion frieze which is included in the "Honey Suckel for 2 Doors" of the bill. The baskets and garlands of two doorheads in the parlor chamber (Figures 196, 197), different in character from the father's work, seem also to be the son's, as does also the entire cap of a door in the lower hall (Figure 190). It would appear that further ornaments were also added to enrich features already elaborate. Thus the ninety paterae of the bill seem to have been placed in the metopes of the frieze in the parlor. The "pr Pilester drops and Blocking Grape and Horns plenty," will be those of the mantel later at The Lindens (Figure 200). This entire mantel, indeed, would seem to be the son's work, for, like the caps of the front windows, it has what we may call split dentils, with a groove on the face and at either side — features not found in any work by Samuel McIntire before 1808, and occurring in other late examples executed presumably by his son.

The house at 34 Chestnut Street incorporates parts of a building which originally stood on the estate at Oak Hill with which Samuel McIntire might be thought to have had some connection. As we learn from documents in the scrap-book of Francis H. Lee, preserved at the Essex Institute, Nathaniel West, Jr. in 1824 moved this building in two sections, placing them so as to leave room for a hall between and adding a third story. Old photographs show the house before modern alterations. The elaborate window cornices, which still remain, are of a later style than McIntire's, and give little color to any attribution to him.

Benjamin Pickman House

165 *Essex Street*

Built 1750; remodelled about 1800

(Figures 203-208)

This fine gambrel-roofed house, according to a manuscript of Colonel Benjamin Pickman,⁴⁰ "was built in 1750 by Benjamin Pickman Esq., father of the writer." Colonel Pickman sold it August 18, 1794 (157:230) to Elias Hasket Derby and it was occupied by his daughter Anstis who had married Benjamin Pickman, Jr. in 1789. By his will dated September 4, 1799, Elias Hasket bequeathed the house to her.

At some time during her occupancy several features were added by McIntire: the west porch, a bow window at the east, and various items of interior trim. From their character they appear to be of the period about 1800. In particular the mantel still preserved is closely similar to one in the southeast chamber of the Jerathmeel Peirce house which was added at this time.

At this period will also have been erected the stable, with large arched doorway, which appears in an early lithograph.

⁴⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 95.

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On the death of Benjamin Pickman, Jr. the house was sold to Mrs. William Neal, who in 1815 sold it to Mrs. LeMaster. She erected stores in front of the house, but the house remained otherwise intact. From time to time articles of interior finish have been removed, many of them passing into possession of the Essex Institute. An arch from the house is set up in the great hall of its Museum, leading to the balcony removed from Washington Hall.

Derby House, South Salem

286 Lafayette Street

Remodelled about 1800; demolished before 1890

(Figures 209–212)

What appears to be this land, “with house and buildings thereon,” was acquired by Ezekiel Hersey Derby from the Fitch heirs by deeds of February, March and April, 1800 (165:217, 232, 246; 166:201). The existing gambrel-roofed house was little disturbed but received various adornments. It seems probable that the two curved bows at the ends of the ground story were added by the new owner, as well as the mantel with composition ornaments, obviously a work of Samuel McIntire, as were the carved ornaments of the barn.

The building later served as a hotel, the Lafayette House, and was taken down before 1890. The mantel mentioned was sold to Francis Shaw of Wayland, Massachusetts, and was incorporated in his house there.⁴¹ It was Number 173 in the catalogue of his collection sold by the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, December 12–14, 1935.

Benjamin Carpenter House

135 Federal Street

Built 1801 ff.

Principal owners: Carpenter, Shepard, Robson

The plan preserved bears the legend in McIntire’s handwriting. “Sketch of ye plan of Capt. Carpenter’s House.”

The land, a deep lot running from Essex to Federal Street, was bought by Carpenter from Daniel Mackey, July 8, 1796 (160:275). On the Essex Street frontage was a dwelling house occupied by Mackey since before 1760, when he received it in the division of his father-in-law’s estate (Probate 337:487). Prior to his purchase of this property Carpenter had occupied a house on Essex Street built by John Cabot who died in 1749 (Benjamin Pickman: “Account of Houses . . . in Salem,” 1793, *Essex Institute Historical Collections* VI, 1864, 107). Carpenter sold the whole property May 30, 1800 (166:252) to Sarah Fisk, who reconveyed to him for \$1,150 the northern end of the lot October 1, 1801 (170:145). The house in question stands on this tract, and will presumably have been built with little delay. Carpenter sold the property for \$6,000 to Richard Wheatland, September 25, 1826 (186:240), and it was afterwards acquired by Michael Shepard, 1828 (249:97), John Bertram, 1880 (1040:68), and later by the Robson family.

⁴¹ Information from his daughter, Mrs. Miriam Shaw.

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The house as it exists has been much modified, the exterior in the Victorian period, the interior again recently in the direction of restoration. It is thus impossible to illustrate McIntire's work, of which little survives.

Gates of Salem Common or Washington Square

Erected 1802; removed 1850

(Figures 214-218, 364)

The subscription paper circulated in 1802 was "for the purpose of executing the design for gateways, as given by Mr. Samuel McIntire for ornamenting Washington Square."⁴² Felt's *Annals of Salem* also says of the gates: "being designed, arched and ornamented by Mr. Samuel McIntire, a noted architect, they do much honor to his taste."

At the east and west were high gateways, the arch of the western one being adorned with a relief medallion of Washington, carved by McIntire. Of this gate, although it was taken down in 1850, there is a daguerreotype preserved by the Essex Institute.

Of the minor gates we gain an idea from a painting of the Common by George Ropes in 1808, belonging to the Institute. The fate of these we learn from an entry in Bentley's diary May 23, 1818 (IV, 522): "Washington Square, alias the Common, has been railed anew, the old railing being rotten. The workmen . . . were scarfing the posts of the high gates east & west, for the other gates have been taken away as of little use."

Design for an Unidentified Building

About 1802

(Figure 219)

The paper is water-marked 1799, so that the design will probably have been made about 1802. No clue to its identity has been found. Quite possibly it is a design for a stable.

Samuel Cook House

142 Federal Street

Built 1802-1803; remodelled about 1808

Principal owners: Cook, Oliver

(Figures 220-229)

Samuel Cook bought the land of Joseph Sprague by deed of August 24, 1801 (172: 275), acknowledged May 1, 1802. In McIntire's scrap-book is the plan, with his caption "Sketch of a Plan made fo Cap^t Saml Cook," and with some notes added in another hand after 1864, which read as follows: "Built on Federal Street in 1802. Now No. 142, occupied 1864 to 18. . by family of Gen. H. K. Oliver who married Aug. 1825 Sarah elder daughter

⁴² B. F. Browne: "An Account of Salem Common and the levelling of the Same in 1802." *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, IV (1862), 136.

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of Capt. Cook. In 18. . Capt Cook altered A the Kitchen to a Dining Room & prolonged the L making a Kitchen B with side door & closed door at C."

The tax valuations in this ward show that the house was built in 1802-1803.

1801	Captain Samuel Cook jr. was taxed on a part house	\$ 800.
1802	"	800.
	"Federal street" lot	300.
1803	house	1200.
1804	"	1200.
1808	"	1600.
1809	"	1600.

The increase in value in 1808 is worth noting, for certain of the interior details indicate that the house was further embellished about that year, when Samuel McIntire had fallen under the influence of Benjamin and Raynerd. Thus in the doorway to the parlor the pilaster panels have interrupted gouge-work, as in the Woodbridge house, 1809-1810; its cornice has the split dentils we have seen in late work at Oak Hill and shall see elsewhere in work we attribute to the son. These recur in the hall cornice and in the mantel of the east or parlor chamber, which has other late features. In the parlor, the dado-cap, with its interlacing bands of fillets and disks, likewise suggests a later embellishment, and the palm capitals of the mantelpiece are of a type not previously found in McIntire's work. No such features appear in the Gardner house, 1804-1805, nor even in the Thomas Butman house, 1806-1807.

The extension of the ell, mentioned above, will have been made still later, for the doorway there is of Greek-revival character.

One other drawing by McIntire has reference to his work for Samuel Cook: an elevation of the fence with its fine ornamented posts. The length of 62 feet corresponds with that of the fence still surviving, and shows that the drawing was made with direct reference to the Cook lot.

The legend has been frequently repeated that these gateposts and much other woodwork of the Cook house were among the materials from the Derby mansion. As that house was not demolished until 1815, ingenious and unsatisfactory explanations have been required. The gateposts, it is true, resemble those shown in Bulfinch's perspective study for the Derby mansion, as do the window caps of the principal story. These resemblances, which seem to have been responsible for the legend, are due more probably to McIntire's imitating these features in his own design of the Cook house. The bills we have quoted in connection with the Derby mansion show that its fence as actually executed, having "8 Capitals," was unlike Bulfinch's design or the Cook fence. The doorways and chimneypieces of the Cook house do not correspond at all closely with those shown in McIntire's detailed drawings for the Derby mansion, and are later in style.

Old photographs of the house show an eaves-balustrade, now removed. Some of the balusters are preserved by the Essex Institute.

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The South Church

Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, Salem
Built 1803-1804; destroyed by fire 1903
(Figures 10, 230-236)

The church is mentioned by Bentley in his obituary of McIntire as one of his designs, and has always been recognized as his masterpiece in religious architecture. The plan of the church and a detail of the steeple in McIntire's scrap-book of drawings, with legends in his own hand, confirm his authorship.

Bentley records on May 2, 1802 the opening of a subscription for the church and the pledging of \$5,000 (II, 429); and on October 30, 1803 the purchase of the lot at the corner of Cambridge and Chestnut Streets (III, 57). On August 17, 1804, he writes: "Yesterday they began to raise the meeting house in Cambridge street" (III, 104), on August 22: "They are still raising the Cambridge street Meeting House. The Tabernacle which is the largest now standing, is 78 by 62 feet; this is to be 80 by 66; branch 62 by 74. The porch is to be 40 feet by 20. The height of the steeple I have not yet ascertained" (III, 105); and on September 6: "The steeple of the Cambridge Street Meeting House raised" (III, 109). The construction was temporarily delayed by the blowing down of the steeple in a high wind on September 11 (III, 110) but on the twenty-fourth the frame was again raised, and by the end of the year the church was completed sufficiently to be dedicated on New Year's Day. In speaking of the ceremony Bentley adds: "The Steeple is the noblest in Town. Upon a lofty tower it rises upon reduced Octagons & hexagons, till it terminates in a slender cone. It is decorated handsomely. The roof is supported above, the arch is lofty, the pulpit rich, but nothing singular in the disposition of the house" (III, 132). About 1860 the interior was completely modified, and no view showing the original disposition of it is known to the writer, so that Bentley's description just cited gives the best idea we have of this part of the design. The exterior, however, remained intact until the disastrous fire which destroyed the church in 1903.

In the church accounts the debits for the building "begin with charge for a horse and chaise to take Samuel Mackintire to Newburyport and Exeter evidently," as the historian of the society says, "to inspect some approved models of church architecture before designing the work . . ."⁴³ It was one at Newburyport which he followed, with richer detail and improved proportions. The main order he made Doric instead of Ionic. He elongated the stages of the steeple, and gave the spire a graceful outward curve at the base.

The admiration which the church evoked is suggested by a description in an article on American architecture in the *North American Review* for October, 1836.⁴⁴

⁴³ "Some account of the South Church," in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXXI (1894), 80.

⁴⁴ XLIII, 356-384, reviewing a work of James Gallier. The name of H. R. Cleveland is added, in the University of Michigan copy, as that of the author.

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One of the best proportioned steeples in our country is at Salem, Massachusetts; the work of a native artist. The whole church is the best specimen of architecture in that city, notwithstanding the various efforts which have been made since its erection . . . The building will easily be recognized as the only church in Chestnut Street. The Ionic portico is uncommonly elegant, though simple and unpretending. Above this rises the steeple, to the height of nearly one hundred and fifty feet. Its principal merit is beauty of proportion, which is not equalled in any steeple, that we know of, in the United States.

The fire of 1903 left the shell of the church standing to the level of the entablature, and when it was demolished certain elements were preserved. The Essex Institute has a pilaster capital and a doorhead, as well as two vases from the steeple. Other vases from the steeple were used by the late John Robinson to adorn his stable.

Turnpike Taverns

at Lynn, Topsfield, and Lynnfield

1803-1804

(Figures 237-241)

With the establishment of turnpikes, about 1800, went an improvement of inns. A Salem and Boston turnpike was projected in 1801 and begun in 1802 (Bentley II, 375, 425, 436). February 1, 1803 the following advertisement for a tavern on this turnpike appeared in the *Salem Gazette*:

A READY MONEY JOB

For Building a large Tavern House, on Lynn Common, by Contract, of the Following Description, viz;

The buildings to consist of a main House, fifty-two feet long, fifty feet wide, and three stories high; to be flanked with wings, forming separate buildings, forty-two feet long, twenty-two feet wide, and two stories high; yet connected with the main building by intermediate parts of twelve feet by twenty-six, which parts to serve for entries, a stairway, store rooms, &c, and to be of the same height with the wing buildings. The buildings forming the wings will present to the eye their narrowest dimensions, viz. twenty-two feet, along with the longest dimensions of the main building, viz. fifty-two feet, which, with the two intermediate parts of twelve feet each, will make the whole of either fronts, one hundred and twenty feet. The main building to have a hipped roof with Chinese railing round it at the bottom, and a block cornice at the eaves; the wings, a plain cornice and pediment roof finished as pediments at each front end; the two first stories, ten and a half feet in the clear and the third story, nine feet in the clear. There will be a portico in each front, with two pair of plain columns to each, to stand on stone plinths, with wooden steps to all the outer doors. The main building is to have an entry lengthwise nine feet wide, and in it one flight of stairs, which will be the same in all the stories; also stairs to lead to the top of the House; the lower story to have another entry across the house from one front door to the other, of eight and a half feet wide; the lower part of the main building to have four rooms finished with plain bass and surbass mouldings, sliding window shutters, plain chimney pieces, and proper architraves to the doors and windows, &c, but no cornices are required in any part of the inside of the

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building. The second story is to be divided into six rooms finished in the same plain manner, with sliding window shutters only halfway up the windows. The Third story is to be divided into nine lodging rooms finished in the plainest manner, without window shutters.

One of the wing buildings is to be divided into two kitchens, dadoed three feet high, with window shutters, and other proper finishings; the chamber over to be divided into three lodging rooms, with window shutters to slide, in two parts. Adjoining will be the kitchen stairs, entry, &c., and a store room and small lodging room.

The other wing building to be plainly finished with bass and surbass mouldings, plain chimney pieces, sliding window shutters, &c., and divided below and above, either by doors, or a partition which may be occasionally removed so as to make two rooms into one; and adjoining there is to be an entry, a small store room, a closet and a small lodging room. The two outer sides of the wings to be built of brick, in which will be four chimnies. There will also be four other chimnies in the main building.

There will be 54 windows, 12 squares each, the glass 11 by 16—12 windows, 8 squares, the glass 11 by 16—16 windows, 12 squares, glass 11 by 11—two fan lights about $7\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide.

There will be four outer doors with wooden steps, and forty-one inside doors. The window frames are to be sunk, and on the two lower stories to be fixed with pullies. The whole building is to be clapboarded and shingled, and a belt or facia to go round at the bottom of the chamber windows. All the rooms are to be well plastered, and the wood-work painted; and the outside of the whole building is also to be painted except the roof. The inside work of the two lower stories of the main building and the wings (except the kitchen) are to be finished with clear stuff. Locks, hinges, bolts, latches, and fastenings for doors, windows &c. as may be found necessary or convenient, with every material that may be requisite for completing and finishing the whole building in the style and agreeably to the dimensions above described.

There is to be a cellar under the whole of the building, including the wings, to be dug three feet from the present surface, and the trench under the wall six inches deeper; and the earth dug out of the cellar is to be levelled off around the house, two feet above the present surface; and the upper stones all round the outside of the wall to be hammered two feet in height. Stairs to go into the cellar within and without, and the cellar when finished to be seven feet deep.

Any person or persons willing to contract to build the above described House, and find all the materials both of carpenter's work as well as of masons, or of each separately, will please to send or deliver their proposals sealed up, unto MR. SAMUEL M'INTIRE, of this town, who has a plan of the building to exhibit; or to one of the subscribers, on or before Tuesday the 22nd instant; on which day we shall meet at Dr. Stearn's store, between 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon for receiving and opening the same, and making the contracts. The whole building must be completed by the first day of August next, and the cellar as much sooner as will not delay its completion at that period; and money will be advanced as the work progresses, or faster, upon satisfactory security that the engagements will be faithfully complied with. Signed: BENJAMIN GOODHUE, ICHABOD NICHOLS, BENJAMIN CARPENTER.

N. B. The Subscribers will have at Lynn as many bricks as will be wanted for the House, and about 40 thousand of seasoned boards, one half of which are clear, and which the contractors may have at the cost.

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A supplementary item followed on February 8:

ANOTHER READY MONEY JOB

For Building, by Contract, a Stable, Sheds, Woodhouse, &c., on Lynn Common (adjoining the Tavern House which is to be erected there) of the following description, viz:

A stable, sixty-six feet long, and forty six feet wide, two stories high and hipped roof. The first story to have a planked floor, suitable for a Stable, and to be divided by a partition across the middle of the building, with a passage or doorway in the centre. Arranged on each side the said partition and across the two ends of the building, will be fitted up stalls with racks and other proper finishings to accommodate forty horses, and a stair-way in the centre of each end to go into the chamber. The first story to be nine and a half feet high, and the second eight feet high, and the floor double boarded. The front to have two small projections, wherein will be the two great doors ten feet wide in the clear, an arched top with windows, and opposite there will be two other doors of like dimensions; over the projections, a pannelled pedestal by way of finishing, and a belt or fascia around the front and two ends. The front and ends, planked or dadoed up about four feet; and above this plaistered in a proper manner, with double cornice at the eaves; and the roof shingled.

From the two ends of the Stable, will proceed a range of sheds fifteen feet wide, with flat arches in front, about ten feet high in the clear, and floored over so as to make a low hay loft about five feet high in front, with windows to take in hay, and the roof sloping to the floor on the back side, and the front to be finished with a plain cornice, and the roof shingled. They will begin at the Stable and run about twenty feet, then turn at right angles and form an area partly in front of the building; and the whole length of the fronts of both ranges of Sheds will be about one hundred and sixty-five feet.

Likewise a building for a WOOD-HOUSE, one story high, forty feet long, and twelve feet wide; with a plank floor, and open in front with arches; and a Necessary at each end of the Wood-House, one of which is to be divided into two with proper vaults under them.

The Stable, Sheds and Wood-House are to be underpinned with rocks sufficiently to keep the buildings from the ground.

The materials of every kind together with the labour to complete the buildings with every necessary convenience are to be included in the contract.

Any person or persons willing to contract to build the above described Buildings, and find all the materials, will please to send or deliver their proposals sealed up, unto Mr. Samuel M'Intire of this town, who has a plan of the buildings to exhibit, or to one of the Subscribers, on or before Tuesday the 22nd instant; on which day we shall meet at Dr. Stearn's Store, between 10 and 12 o'clock in the forenoon, for receiving and opening the same, and making the contracts. The buildings must be completed by the first day of September next. BENJAMIN GOODHUE, ICHABOD NICHOLS, BENJAMIN CARPENTER.

N. B. Money will be advanced as the buildings progress, or faster, upon satisfactory security that the engagements will be faithfully complied with.

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In McIntire's scrap-book are a plan and elevation for a tavern which is closely related to the description of this one at Lynn. The main block is 50 by 52 feet, three stories high, with a Chinese railing, as specified, the wings two stories high, and the interior arrangement closely similar. The only substantial difference is that in the drawing the wings are shown attached directly to the main building, instead of being detached, with "intermediate parts." That the drawing was made first, and that the specifications embody the form finally adopted, is shown by the view of the "Western entrance of the Central part of Lynn" in John Warner Barber's *Historical Collections . . . of Massachusetts*, page 196 of the 1839 edition.

Meanwhile, as early as November, 1802, there was projected a turnpike from Newburyport direct to Boston, passing some miles inland of Salem. Hotels were established at approximately ten-mile intervals, falling at Topsfield and Lynnfield. McIntire, it appears, was called on also for the design of these.

In his scrap-book is a sheet of plans with his annotation: "Sketches for the Plans of the floors of a Building, designed for a Tavern, for y^e Newbury turnpike." The proportions and fenestration agree with a sketch of the hotel on the turnpike at Topsfield, made by Alonzo Lewis in 1835-1840 and here republished. In the *Topsfield Historical Collections* (VIII, 19), is the information that the hotel was erected in 1803-1804. August 29, 1804 Bentley wrote (III, 106) "the Cellar is already finished and the frame begun." In contrast with the great majority of the roadside taverns, even long after its time, which did not differ essentially from a dwelling house, except perhaps in size, this building was skilfully planned for its functions with public rooms and guest rooms in the main block, kitchen and service quarters entirely in a wing, with the main staircase and service stairs between. The bedroom floors are not mechanically and uniformly subdivided as in most colonial houses, but have the rooms carefully graded in size according to their advantages of location. The character of the building of course left little scope for interest of detail, and beyond the portico and the semi-circular stair its merits must have lain chiefly in an excellence of proportion of which we get a hint even in Lewis's crude sketch.

The building was highly regarded by contemporaries. The historian of the turnpike states that, being a very convenient building, it was considered the best tavern on the "Eastern" roads. It was expected that it would be rented at \$1,800 per year.⁴⁵

The hotel at Lynnfield seems to have been substantially identical with the one at Topsfield. Pasted in a sketch-book among McIntire's effects is a schedule "Dimentions of Timber &c for a turnpike tavern to be builded in Lynfield 54 ft. front 52 feet deep & an ell in the middle of back side of 30 by 34 ft x 30 ft." These dimensions are the same as those of McIntire's plan. A view of the Lynnfield Hotel published in the Lynn Historical Society Register Number 17 (1913), facing page 149 shows it like the one at Topsfield. Thomas Wellman's *History of Lynnfield* states that it was built in 1804 at a reputed cost of \$22,000, and that it was burned March 7, 1894. Bentley wrote July 5, 1805: "In Lynn they had their first celebration (yesterday). They proceeded from the Turnpike Hotel" (III, 309), and again, July 15, 1806: "We rode . . . to the Hotel at Lynnfield . . . The main building is square & furnishes three good rooms on the lower floor excepting the bar room . . ." (III, 240).

⁴⁵ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLII (1905), 124.



Figure 12. Porch of the John Gardner House, 1804–1805.



Figure 13. Hall of the John Gardner House, 1804–1805.

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The John Gardner House

128 Essex Street, Salem

Built 1804-1805

Principal owners: Gardner, White, Pingree

(Figures 11-12, 242-253)

In the "List of Brick buildings standing in Salem at the beginning of 1806," published in the *Salem Gazette*, February 4, 1806, appears under Ward 2, Essex Street, the house of John Gardner, "Built 1805." This however must be the date of completion, and the date of 1804 given by Benjamin Pickman⁴⁶ must be the time of commencement, for Bentley writes on September 14, 1804 "This morning a man fell from Gardner's brick house 30 feet . . . The upper staging gave way as he stepped on with his tub of mortar & he instantly fell upon his feet."

The plan reproduced, from McIntire's scrap-book of designs, bears dimensions in his hand and the legend: "Coppied from a Plan made for Mr. John Gardiner." Although the word "coppied" might imply that the plan was made for Gardner by someone else, such as Bulfinch, the close relation of the design to preceding ones by McIntire leads us to believe it was his own, and the exterior and interior finish are certainly his.

The house has remained substantially intact, respected by its successive owners, including Joseph White and, later, David Pingree, whose heirs deeded it to the Essex Institute in 1933. The only serious change had been the removal of the original pierced stair balustrade of which the Essex Institute preserves some of the balusters, and this has now been restored. The house has been superbly furnished by the Institute with objects of the period.

The Branch or Howard Street Church

Howard Street, Salem

Built 1804-1805; removed to Beverly and rebuilt, 1867

The Reverend C. C. Beaman, in a circumstantial account of the erection of the church published in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for 1861, says "The architect was Samuel Macintire" and goes on to name the master carpenters and masons who contracted for the work. This statement is confirmed by an item in the inventory of McIntire's estate in 1811, in which appears, under "Sundry Notes payable to Said Estate," the item "Branch Religious Society, dated Dec^r. 25th, 1804, signed by Danl. Farrington as Treasurer and in their behalf for \$120 & Interest 45.40." Although the shell of the building still exists, it is changed in form,⁴⁷ and no view of it before its removal has been found. The best clue to any architectural feature is the statement of Bentley on July 28, 1805, "They are raising at the new Branch Meeting, a turret & Cupola. The frame is already up" (III, 179). Even without this description we might have been justified in recognizing McIntire's one remaining set of de-

⁴⁶ "Some account of houses and other buildings in Salem," MSS published in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, VI (1864), 97.

⁴⁷ For details of the transformation see Cousins and Riley: "The Woodcarver of Salem," 146.

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signs for a church tower as that for the one remaining church which he is authentically known to have designed, and with it we may rest assured that the signed drawings herewith reproduced are to be identified as those of this building. The other drawing of the group, "No. 1," showing the same diameter for the tower, is apparently an earlier study.

Bentley chronicles the progress of the work in detail, from the building of the first temporary house of worship and the opening of a subscription for a larger meeting-house (February 12, 1804, III, 75). On August 22, 1804 he notes the proposed dimensions, 62 by 74, and on the twenty-fifth writes, "The Floor of the Branch Meeting House, Browne street laid" (III, 105). Further entries are: September 2, 1804, "This day Mr. Spaulding preached upon the frame of the new Meeting House called the Branch" (III, 108); February 6, 1805, "this day the new Meeting House called the Branch was dedicated" (III, 140). The paper on which the drawings of the tower are made, identical with that used for the final plans and some of the details of the Derby mansion, accords sufficiently well with these dates; and the technique of rendering, so similar to that in the Tabernacle church drawing, confirms the assignment to this time and the Howard Street building. February 10, 1805: "... The expence of erecting this House is given at a sum short of 10,000 D. but of the South Meeting House above 25,000 D. The roof of the Branch is supported within & the middle of the house is arched" (III, 140).

This church building was removed to Beverly in 1867 and rebuilt.

Clifford Crowninshield House

74 Washington Square

Built 1804-1806

(Figures 14, 15, 254-259)

Principal owners: Crowninshield, Devereux, Waters, Goodell

The house, on the Pleasant Street side of the Square, Clifford Crowninshield appears to have begun on the eve of his marriage, which took place in 1805. At his death on June 3, 1809, Bentley wrote (III, 437): "He retained the house of his G. Father Clifford in Essex Street . . . & afterwards built an elegant house facing the Common. . ."

The Peabody Museum of Salem preserves the following account-book of Clifford Crowninshield headed "House in Pleasant Street."

1804		
Nov. 26	To Cash paid Nathan Pieces [? Pierce] bill	2.43
	paid Daniel Farrinton & Co.	500.
	paid S. McIntires bill	5.
	paid D. Farrington & Co.	300.
	" Daniel Kinney mov'g store	50.
	paid Asa Flanders p re't	100.
	To Cash paid Glould & Glover for lumber	115.50
	" Gould & Glover dig'g well	46.50
	" K. T. Williams	120.
	" Gould & Glover dig'g cellar &c	27.25

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		" Cash paid Asa Flanders & Co.	239.41	
		paid Jona Brown for rocks	6.	
		" Daniel Kinney & Co.	79.58	
		paid Asa Flanders & Co.	110.	1701.67
<i>Dec.</i>	15	To Cash paid Daniel Galencia in full for building Cellar under the Kitchen p rec't	213.	
		paid at Beverly for 1 cask Lime	2.50	215.50
	18	To cash paid Thos. Kennedy for sashes	31.	31.
	21	To Cash paid James Nichols his bill build'g Chimney &c.		195.
	28	To Cash paid Jed. Upton for 2 casks Lime		4.50
		To Cash paid Levi Webster carting Rocks		38.
	29	To Cash paid Josu. Ward's bill Lumber	267.94	
		" Joseph C. Ward's bill do	64.77	332.71
		To Cash paid Sam'l Silsbee carting sand	5.33	
		" Asa Flanders & Co. p re't	50.	55.33
1805				
<i>Jany.</i>	1	To Cash paid Jos. Fenno & Co. for clear boards &c		210.92
	16	To Cash paid Asa Flanders & Co. p rec't		150.
	22	To Cash paid Phippin & Very for pump	31.73	
		" Patten & Co. their bill	17.76	49.49
	25	To Cash paid Kinney Getchel & Merrill in full for finishing the Kitchen &c.	134.	
		To Cash paid Daniel Kinney's bill	57.75	
		" Josiah Getchel Do.	39.41	
		" Amasa Merrill Do.	38.61	269.77
<i>Feby</i>	2	To Cash paid Jere. Emmerton his bill	4.88	
		" Levi Maycumber Do.	7.	11.88
	8	To Cash paid James Nichols his bill		10.33
	20	To Cash paid Joseph Fogg his bill		52.13
<i>March</i>	6	To Cash paid Eben'r Popes bill		2.
	26	To Cash paid Jacob Mushall for post		25.83
<i>April</i>	5	To Cash paid Labour		2.70
		To Cash paid Labour at sundry times		25.11
		To Cash paid Isaac Haggetts bill	40.65	
		paid Labour	5.	45.65
	20	To Cash paid Robert Perkins his bill		23.
		To Cash paid Danl. Fry his bill	10.	
		To Cash paid Eleazar Popes Do.	45.50	
		" John Collins Do.	65.	
		" Danl Fry Do.	71.75	
		" Danl Galeucias Do.	262.43	
		" Wm. Price	32.40	487.22
<i>May</i>	3	To Cash paid Wm. Luscomb's bill	124.56	124.56
	11	To Cash paid Richard Adams his bill steps &c		97.13
	15	To Cash paid Wiggins & Uptons bill	15.42	
		" Peters & Ponds bill	81.94	97.36
		To Cash paid Jed Uptons bill	7.	
	16	To Cash paid Sundry Labourers	44.50	52.

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<i>June</i>	3	To Cash paid Isaac Haggets bill	.75	
		" Sundry Labourers	151.29	
<i>June</i>	20	" Jona. Browns bill	25.31	177.35
	28	To Cash paid Asa Flandrs & Daniel Farrington		
		their bill	68.46	
		off	12.92	
			55.52	
		To Cash paid John Ives Do.	284.92	340.44
		To Cash paid Joseph Newhall his bill	20.	
		" John Emmerson Do.	3.50	23.50
<i>July</i>	16	To Cash paid Isaac Haggets bill		2.08
	25	To Cash paid Joseph Fogg his bill		196.81
		To Cash paid William Treadwell his bill	210.	
		" Benjamin Smith Do.	37.49	247.49
		To Cash paid Richard Adams bill	97.22	
		Cash paid Benj'm Silver Do.	6.	
		Cash paid Peters & Pond Do.	56.76	159.98
		To Cash paid Thadeus Stimpsons bill		29.50
<i>Augt.</i>	2	To Cash paid Daniel Frye his bill	53.50	
		paid John Melvill Do.	3.75	
		paid Thomas Cushing Do.	23.25	
		paid Joseph Newhall Do.	16.	96.50
		To Cash paid Elijah Fuller his bill		11.10
	27	To Cash paid Samuel McIntire his bill		22.31
		To Cash paid Phineas Wentworths bill		21.50
<i>Septem</i>	9	To Cash paid James Nichols his bill	260.	
		George Deane Do.	12.25	272.25
<i>Octo'r</i>	1	To Cash paid John Collins his bill	62.25	
		Joshua French	12.16	77.41
		To Cash paid Amos Lefavour his bill		.37½
		To Cash paid D. labour		1.00
	14	To Cash paid Joseph Newhalls bill		51.18
	19	To Cash paid Jed'n Upton his bill		14.50
		To Cash paid Lamson & Goodhue		19.96
		To Cash paid Benj'm Smith his bill		66.03
		To Cash paid Samuel McIntires bill		6.59
		To Cash paid N. Knight his bill		21.80
<i>Novem'r</i>		To Cash paid Wm. Gavit his bill	3.53	
		paid Thomas Francis Do.	3.25	
		paid John Dodge Do.	31.18	
		paid George Dean Do.	5.19	
		Joseph Newhalls Do.	22.65	
		Dix & Treadwell Do.	5.20	
		Samuel Skerry Do.	3.50	74.66
<i>Dec'r</i>	2	To Cash paid J. Bannado for Glass		24.
	17	To Cash paid B. Cheever his bill		4.73
		To Cash paid Wm. Deans bill		18.65
	26	To Cash paid Henry Prince for marble slab		18.
		To Cash paid Thomas Brooks his bill		112.26

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1806					
Feb.	To Cash paid	Page & Ropes date 7 inst.	129.18		
		P. & A. Chase his bill	6.		
		Johnson & Phelps Do.	3.29		
		John Waters Do.	2.50		
		Ephm Emmerson Do.	12.11		
		Isaac N. Ireland Do.	23.75	176.83	
8	To Cash paid	Daniel Frye his bill	56.16		
		Deduct for Brig Sallys Bill	4.66		
			41.50		
		Jas. Pope Bill	30.38	71.88	
1806					
	To Cash paid	Seth Brooks bill		78.89	
May 16	To Cash paid	Joseph Fogg his bill	2.93		
		William Price	22.50		
		Thomas Francis	2.50		
		J. Perry	4.61	32.54	
July 21	To Cash paid	A. Fuller his bill &c.	21.33		
		J. Newhalls bill	106.42	127.75	
				6912.59	

We observe that McIntire's bills formed but a small part of the total cost and may perhaps assume that the early entry of \$5 was for a plan and the subsequent ones were for carving and composition work. The design and aspect of the house are typical of his style, as are the details.

The composition of one mantel on the second floor is identical with that of one in Asher Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, of which the first edition appeared in 1796. It is the first example of extensive borrowing from Benjamin on the part of McIntire.

As it stood to the age of photography the house had a fine stable with arcaded sheds adjoining, one of them leading to a little shop. There was also an admirable fence, with pierced motives at intervals between the square spindles.

Later owners included James Devereux, William D. Waters and Zina Goodell. The house has been extensively remodelled, but without injury to McIntire's fine detail.

Old Custom House

6 Central Street

Built 1805

(Figures 260, 373)

In 1805 William Gray and Benjamin Herbert Hathorne erected a block of stores in Central Street. There are many bills of John Chandler for parts of the work, and several of Joseph McIntire for minor items of material and labor. There is no documentary evidence that Samuel McIntire was concerned, but the carved eagle over the principal doorway, now belonging to the Essex Institute, is surely his. In view of this and of his brother's connection with the work we may assume that the simple, well-proportioned design, not unlike that of his Stearns Block, was by him.

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The Custom House occupied quarters in the building from 1805 to 1807. There have been removed from the building a number of plain mantels like the simpler ones used by McIntire in upstairs rooms of his houses. The late Henry M. Batchelder had two in his house on Lafayette Street; another is in the headmaster's house at the Loomis Institute, Windsor, Connecticut.

Jonathan Hodges House

12 Chestnut Street

Built 1805

Principal owners: Hodges, Peele, Nichols, West

(Figures 261, 262)

The plan, with McIntire's technique and handwriting, has his inscription on the back stating that it is "for Capt. Hodges." Its identity was recognized by Henry W. Belknap; he has checked by its dimensions and original arrangement, in spite of later changes.

Samuel Holman sold the land to Jonathan Hodges, December 27, 1802. The *Salem Gazette* for August 20, 1805, advertises the auction of a lot at the corner of Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, "between the elegant residence of Jonathan Hodges and the new South Church." The house is listed as "Built 1805," in the contemporary list of brick houses standing in Salem at the beginning of 1806, frequently cited in this volume.

As the "Rough plan," with its two pantries suggests, the house was built as a double house with three stairs and doors, southwest and north. On the east wall the rear tier of windows in the front rooms was omitted. It was altered after 1845 by J. Willard Peele to a single house, with a new porch, the west door and stairway being removed, and the arrangement of the northeastern quarter being modified. At this period the old woodwork was mostly removed, and replaced by black walnut and marble, removed in turn by Arthur Webster West, who bought the house in 1888. The only original interior finish left is the scrolls on the stair-ends. The front doorway and porch, with its Greek detail, is evidently later in date than the house itself.

Residents of the eastern half have been: George Cleveland, 1837, Daniel Bickford, 1842, J. Willard Peele, 1846, Martha Nichols, 1866, Francis W. Nichols, 1869, Nathan Nichols, 1881, Arthur Webster West, 1888.

Steeple of the Tabernacle Church

Washington and Federal Streets, Salem

Church begun 1776; steeple erected 1805; building demolished 1854

(Figures 263, 264)

The steeple shown in the drawing is identical, in the main, with that of the former Tabernacle Church, as shown in an old lithograph here reproduced, in a woodcut in the Tabernacle Memorial, 1855, and in the old painting of Washington Street at the Essex Institute.⁴⁸ Proportions and general arrangement tally exactly; the position of the balustrade,

⁴⁸ Reproduced by Cousins and Riley: "The Woodcarver of Salem," Plate cxv.

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the glazing of the upper openings, the cornice of the tower, the relation of the tower to the roof lines, and even the precise form of the finial, all check with details visible in one or another of the three views mentioned. In certain respects, to be sure, the design has been modified in execution—the lower stage has been stepped instead of chamfered at the corners, the entablature and roof of the upper stage have been made octagonal instead of circular—but these changes, which scarcely affect the silhouette, do not prevent a sure identification.

The drawing, in McIntire's scrap-book of designs, and liberally supplied with notes in his handwriting, establishes beyond doubt his authorship of this fine design not hitherto ascribed to him.

The dates regarding the church, as given above, are taken from Osgood and Batchelder's *Historical Sketch of Salem* (1879), pp. 989–990, where it is stated that the steeple was raised in 1805, after the previously existing "dome and belfry" had been carried away by a gale. Elias Hasket Derby's Ledger shows the following items on the first building of the church:

		The Proprietors of the Tabernacle		
1780		To cash & materials in building the Tabernacle as pr		
		A/c	152: 2:3	
1785		To £23 pd for Dr. Whitaker Rect	23: 0:	
1786	Nov. 23	To 3604 feet of plank & board at 30/	5: 8:	
	25	To 2076 feet of boards at 30/	3: 2:	
		To 30 layers at /6	15:	
			£ 184: 7:3	
		Contra		
1782	Oct. 10	By our pew No. 33	17:	
		By John Bray's note for his pew	10: 6:	
		By the tax of 1/3 of my pew from Apl 1, 1774 to		
		Jany 1, 1790	5: 8:	
		By the proportion of my pew tax pd Dr Whitaker		
		awarded him pr Referees	9: 12:	
		By the tax of 1/3 from Jany 1st 1790 to Jany 1st		
		1793	2: 14:	
			£ 44: 0:6	
		By ye Ballence which is Due this Day I have Gave ye		
		Pro tors of ye Tab cle	139: 12:9	
			£ 184: 7:3	
		THOS MASON		

Bentley records that the bell of the Tabernacle was for the first time rung in the new steeple on August 23, 1806 (III, 244). The paper on which McIntire's drawing is made, the same kind as that used for the plan of the South Church, 1804, water-marked with the date of manufacture, 1802—thus according perfectly with the date of the building with which we have associated it.

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The Salem Bank

Essex Street

Built 1805

(Figures 265, 266)

The Salem Bank was first projected in 1803, but was apparently not incorporated before 1805 (Bentley, III, 143). With McIntire's papers is a sheet endorsed "Estimate of the Salem Bank," with the following estimate in his writing:

Timber for the frame 17 tons at 5 dolls	\$85	
Ranging 500 ft at 5 dolls	25	
Joice for the whole 8 M ft at 12 doll	96	
		\$206
Merchantable Board for two underfloors & double covering for the Roof		
11 M at 14 Dollar per M	\$154	
partitions & fixing on 3 M at 14 dol	42	
8 M ft Clean Stuff for inside finishing at 22 doll	176	
Stuff for window Stools & Ballustrade 2 M at 14 dol	28	
Stuff for window frames 500 ft at 22 doll	11	
Stuff for portico 20 dolls	20	
		431
Nails of all kinds \$90		90
		\$521
Framing of whole	\$140	
Double Boarding of Roof, laying Garret floor & all the underflooring at	90	
laying all the upper floors	98	
Mop board & surbase	65	
11 window frames at 15/ each	27.50	
14 Do at 24	56	
Doors at 4 dolls each	28	
Building Ballustrade 55 Dolls	55	
Portico, exclusive of Carving	85	
Building Stairway & Gallery	40	
Rough partitions & fining for plastering	50	
		\$734.50
		521.00
		\$1255.50

This describes a wooden building with a small portico and a roof-balustrade. Evidently the decision was taken that the bank building, which housed also the Salem Marine Insurance Company, should be of brick, and it is listed in the *Gazette* for February 4, 1806, as among the brick buildings then standing in Salem.

In McIntire's scrap-book is a sheet of his drawings entitled "Plan & Section of the Vaults of the Salem Bank." It shows a small "fire-proof" of the type then coming into vogue, with a segmental vault of brick.

An old sketch of the bank survives, showing a hipped-roof building of two stories, lack-

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ing any conspicuous feature, and having square-headed windows below, arched windows above. Whether McIntire was responsible for its general design cannot be determined.

Hamilton Hall

7 Cambridge Street

Built about 1805-1807

(Figures 267-270)

This handsome building has housed the Salem Assemblies for over a century and a quarter. The record books of the owners begin only with 1820, when they were incorporated as the Proprietors of the South Buildings, and it is difficult to establish precisely the history of its construction.

Apparently the stimulus to its erection came in the political schism between Federalists and Republicans which split the Assemblies in the year 1805, as Bentley describes (III, 2, 201, 203). The first reference in the *Salem Gazette* is one of December 9, 1806, asking the subscribers to attend a meeting, on business of importance, at Mr. Crombie's tavern. Judging humanly, we may suppose work was in progress and funds were running low. September 11, 1807 the hall was used for an auction, and October 2 all persons were advised to present claims against the new Assembly-house. October 29 Margaret Holyoke records her attendance "at Mr. T[urner]'s Ball at new Assembly Rooms." November 4, 1808, the proprietors of the new Assembly were requested to meet and receive a report of the committee relative to the expense of the House and furniture. The first reference I have found to the name Hamilton Hall, which marked the Federalist sympathies of the proprietors, is one in Bentley's diary October 13, 1809 (III, 468).

McIntire is not connected with the work by any document, but his close relations with the Derbys, who were the prime movers on the Federalist side, make it highly probable that he gave the design, and the exterior carvings show that he took part in the execution. The mantels have no carving, and we need not assume McIntire was concerned with these, which from their detail would seem to have been executed about 1809.

The records of the incorporated proprietors after 1820 show that the lower western part was not finished until 1824, and that a new front door (evidently the one on the west) was provided in 1845. There is a legend that a window once existed between the chimneys on the east, but structural examination shows the brickwork there to be undisturbed.

Unidentified Building

Designed about 1805-1809

(Figure 271)

The fine design of McIntire's is obviously for a business building, with shops to left and right of the entrance. The paper, of which other examples bear the water-marked date 1802, was also used for the drawings for the Salem Private Grammar School, 1807, and the Archer Building, 1809, so that the design may be supposed to be of the period 1805-1809. No clue to its identity has been found.

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Unidentified House

Designed about 1805-1809

(Figure 272)

All efforts to identify this plan have been unsuccessful and we cannot determine whether the house was ever built. The drawing is certainly McIntire's. The paper on which it is drawn is the same as that for the preceding building, so this one also may be assigned to the period 1805-1809. The design itself, not unlike that of the Dow house, is congruous with such an assumption. From the nature of the plan we may assume that it was intended for a lot on the west side of a street running north and south. This suggests that it may have been projected for one of the streets north of the Common, which were being built up in these years. The house built by Joseph Story at 26 Winter Street is sufficiently similar in general plan to offer a tempting analogy, but the dimensions of the lot which he acquired in 1810 (190:204) do not conform to those shown on the drawing.

Thomas Butman House

14 Cambridge Street

Built 1806-1807

Principal owners: Butman, Waters

(Figures 273-276)

The plan for the house, on paper water-marked (J.LAR) KING (18)02, is preserved as Number 43 in McIntire's large scrap-book. Although it is without any writing or dimensions, the style of indication of windows, chimneys, and other features (differing sharply, for instance, from that of Bulfinch) is that of McIntire, and the drawing is unquestionably by him.

The land was deeded for \$1,000 to Thomas Butman, without mention of buildings, November 23, 1806 (181:6). The water-marked date of 1802 on the paper used by McIntire for the plan shows that the house was undertaken immediately after the purchase of the land, as four years from the date of manufacture to that of use is a longer interval than the average in McIntire's papers. Butman mortgaged the property for \$1,500 to Jacob Reed, Jr., and on November 11, 1817 (213:237) conveyed the equity in the land and dwelling house and other buildings for \$1,090.27 to three Boston merchants, Joseph Sewall, John Williams and Thomas R. Sewell. It passed through the hands of George Gregerson, 1818 (218:51 and 222:93), James Ball, 1829 (251:213 and 256:27), William Stevens, 1832 (263:256); William Waters, 1834, and John Gellison Waters, 1855. It belonged for many years to David Pingree Waters, and later to John Waters. Additions not substantially later than the house as first planned extend the wing to the rear. The porch, too, though not shown on the plan, is of an early date.

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Registry of Deeds

Summer and Broad Streets

Built 1807; demolished 1854

(Figures 277, 278)

In McIntire's scrap-book is his plan with the title "Rough Plan for Register's Office & Dwelling &c." At the Salem town meeting March 23, 1807 the vote was taken "That John Hathorne, Joshua Ward, Ichabod Tucker, Samuel Ropes and John Pickering, Jr., be a committee, with full power to build a brick Dwelling-house and Fireproof brick Office, with an apartment adjoining according to a plan of Mr. McIntire, now exhibited, with such other offices adjoining, as the Committee shall think convenient and necessary; upon the Town's land, for the use of the Inhabitants." We learn that McIntire was paid \$35 for the design.⁴⁹ Bentley describes the meeting and the plan, substantially as it is preserved (III, 281). March 27 the *Gazette* carried an advertisement for proposals "to be left with Mr. Samuel McIntire." On April 24 an agreement, preserved by the Essex Institute with Salem town bills, was executed between the town and Joseph Edwards and John Warden, housewrights, for the erection of the building:

"to be built on the Town's land at the corner of Summer and Broad Streets in the form of an L, twenty-two feet wide; and to be finished in every respect, conformable to the memorandum hereunto annexed; the walls thereof to be completed by the thirty-first day of July next ensuing, and the whole building to be completely finished throughout by the first day of November next ensuing.

And said Edwards and Warden further agree with said Inhabitants, that one Master Carpenter and one Master Mason, at least, shall constantly attend in person, while their respective portions of said work are going on; and that the whole work shall at all times be subject to the general inspection and superintendence of the Committee aforementioned or any person whom said Committee shall appoint for that purpose. And that the Inhabitants of Salem do hereby agree with the said Edwards and Warden, that they will pay to them, the sum of five thousand, eight hundred and fifteen dollars upon their completing said building, etc." Signed, Joseph Edwards, John Warden, Jr., John Hathorne, Joshua Ward, Ichabod Tucker, Samuel Ropes, John Pickering, Jr.

The memorandum referred to in the contract is as follows:

The buildings to be of Brick, the plan an L, twenty-two feet wide on each part; The front on Summer Street is to be forty-four feet; that on Broad Street to be sixty-one feet. The underpinning stones to be faced and appear above ground eighteen inches; The foundation for the underpinning to be of square stones at least two courses high.

Basement Story:

The basement story is to be eight feet high from floor to floor, in which will be a kitchen nineteen feet, four inches, by fifteen feet eight inches cield as high as the bottom of the window with window shutters, window seats and other finishings suitable for a

⁴⁹ His receipt, of February 27, 1807, is for £1-50-0 (*sic*). Cf. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXXIV (1938), 21.

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kitchen. There shall be front stairs to go from this floor to the chamber, and back stairs to be continued to the scuttle on the top of the house, etc.

In this story is to be a store room fifteen feet eight inches, by seven feet; a cellar fifteen feet eight inches, by twelve feet, and an outer cellar twenty feet by nineteen feet with suitable doors, etc.

Principal Story:

The principal story, ten feet high from floor to floor is to have a parlour twenty feet by sixteen feet; another parlour eighteen feet by sixteen, with two closets; each parlour to be dadoed and capped as high as the bottom of the windows, with window seats, folding three or four panel shutters to four windows in each roof with handsome six pannel doors, and handsome plain architraves to the doors and windows, and plain, neat chimney pieces.

On this floor is the Register's office, twenty feet by twenty feet square, with four windows with window seats and folding shutters, an outer Door and plain Chimney Piece. This room to be dadoed as high as the bottom of the windows and to have a Door to communicate with the Parlour. The partition between this Register's office and the Parlour last mentioned to be like the other partitions of the building, and not a brick wall as described on the plan.

Chambers:

Over the three last mentioned rooms there are to be three chambers of the same dimensions with those rooms finished with window seats and plain Architraves, folding window shutters and Doors of four Pannels each; the chimneys to be finished neat and plain, and these chambers to be plastered down to the mop board.

All of these rooms and chambers to be finished without cornices, and all of them, as well as all entries, passages, etc. to be floored with good double floors and a single floor to be made over part of the Garret, viz. the Southern end including the finishing round the passage to the scuttle.

Chimnies & Walls & Roof and Floors

In the whole building will be three Chimnies. The walls of the Basement story are to be sixteen inches thick; those above to be twelve inches thick; the Covings to be of Brick, block cornice. The Roof to be double boarded with good joints and to be slated. The floors of the principal and upper Stories are to be framed with joists to be laid into the walls, three inches thick, ten inches deep, and twelve inches asunder. The Beams of the Garret floor to be eight and a half inches by eight and a half inches, and the rafters eight and a half by seven and half inches square.

Fire-proof Apartment, etc.

Under the fireproof apartment must be piers and arches on which the floor of the same apartment will be laid with clapped bricks or tile &c. The apartment to be arched over with a strong vault and will be about sixteen feet by nineteen feet in the clear. The two walls on which this arch rises (which will be about ten feet high from the floor) to be twenty inches thick; the other walls of this apartment to be sixteen inches thick and the whole inside plastered on the bricks. The entrance to this place with double iron Doors and the two windows of it to have two outside fireproof window shutters; the said iron Doors and fireproof shutters to be of the following description, viz: The iron Doors to be six feet and half by two feet and an half in the clear; to be made of sheet

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iron three sixteenths of an inch thick, with rims two inches wide & three eighths of an inch thick; to have three hinges to reach across the doors, the bottom and top rim to constitute two of the three hinges. The door which is next to the Register's Office aforesaid to be hung in a suitable iron frame, and to be furnished with one strong lock, and both of said iron Doors to have suitable latches or other fastening equivalent thereto. The said fireproof shutters to be made of the same kind of sheet iron with the doors and to have suitable fastenings.

In the whole building there will be three outer doors and an outer cellar door; the front door to have sidelights. There will be windows as follows: sixteen windows with glass of fifteen by ten inches; sixteen windows with glass of twelve by ten inches; six windows with glass of eleven by ten inches; each of the said windows to have twelve lights and the windows of the principal story to be furnished with patent springs.

Also two cellar windows furnished with iron grates and sash glass. Also a double flight of substantial steps with suitable railing and bannisters to ascend to the Register's Office.

The window frames are to be sunk and to show only one inch in front of the styles. The window-stools of the fireproof apartment are to be of free stone and the door stools of the outside doors are to be of white oak.

The painting of all the wood finishings, within and without, is included in the job; as are also all the locks, hinges, fast'nings for doors and windows &c. and other suitable and necessary articles of finishing enumerated in the above memorandum.

All of the walls in said building are to be made solid, and the work to be completed according to the plan mentioned in the annexed agreement (except the partition wall between the Register's Office and Parlour as mentioned in this Memorandum and the Portico) and of the best materials in a faithful, substantial and workmanlike manner.

January 9, 1808 the Salem newspapers carried notices of the removal of the Registry of Deeds to the new brick building. It stood until 1854. A mantel from it—which with its carved eagle more than fulfils the specification of “plain, neat chimneypieces”—is preserved by the Essex Institute.

Salem Private Grammar School

*Built in Summer Street, 1807; later removed to Federal Street,
and subsequently demolished*

(Figures 279–281)

In McIntire's scrap-book is a plan of his with the legend “Plan of a School house in Chestnut Street, Salem.” It is on a kind of paper which he used also for designs of the Archer Building, 1809, and thus was drawn, in all probability, within two or three years of that date. The early private schools of Salem were numerous, and few records of the form of their buildings survive, but we believe we can identify this one as one built near Chestnut Street in Summer Street in 1807. Bentley records its dedication with more than usual ceremony on October 25 (III, 326).

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An account of this school is given in Felt's *Annals of Salem*, 2d edition (1845):

That the western section of the town might command privileges for the tuition of boys, whose parents could meet the cost, Equal to those in the Eastern, a school, named the Salem Private Grammar School, on the plan of Mr. Knapp's began Oct. 7, 1807, under Benjamin Tappan. His Salary was \$900 the first year and \$1,050 the next. The Scholars ranged from 25 to 30. The school house was two stories and pleasantly located midway between Chestnut and Green Sts. on a lot, now in the garden of Stephen C. Phillips. It had a library and some philosophical apparatus. Its other preceptors, in succession were Josiah W. Gibbs, Abiel Chandler, John B. Davis, Samuel B. Walcott, Walter R. Johnson and John Walsh . . . Mr. Chandler taught from 1811 to 1817, a longer period than the rest . . . The school after sustaining a high reputation for its usefulness, was closed March 22, 1822. Such a termination was Caused Chiefly by the excellence of the public Latin School.

It would appear that the school-house was afterwards moved to Federal Street, just west of the Tabernacle Church, where it was again used for a school and later for other purposes. Surviving photographs correspond closely with McIntire's plan and notes.

McIntire's designs include another for a school-house, which I have not been able to identify unless it be as a study for the same building, discarded as too large and expensive.

Moses Little House

131 *Essex Street*

Built 1807

Principal owners: Little, Barstow, Brookhouse

(Figure 282)

The attribution rests entirely on the style, especially the resemblance to the Gideon Tucker house next door built at about the same time.

Moses Little bought the property from Joseph Peabody for \$5,400, March 7, 1799, who described it as "the dwelling house wherein I now live & land under consisting partly of a yard and garden and barn and other buildings." (Deeds 163:262.) Colonel Benjamin Pickman had described it in 1793 as Peabody's "which he purchased of the Grafton Family who owned it many years." It was of wood, like its neighbor at 129 Essex Street belonging to the same family, both having stood on the land as early as 1726. In the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, Vol. IV, and in Felt's *Annals of Salem* are references to Little, who died in 1811. It is distinctly stated that he demolished the wooden house and built a new one, in which he lived but a short time. It was not built before 1806, for it does not appear in the list of brick houses in Salem in that year. In the tax lists Little first appears in 1807, with "1 homestead \$3000," which continues until his death in 1811, when there is a valuation:

Mr. Williams' house	\$2000	
Brick house	1500	
		\$3500

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The county tax book of 1807 assesses him for \$11.36, that of 1810 for \$10.14, the decrease being due doubtless to his sale of a lot from the easterly side to his neighbor Gideon Tucker in 1808 (185:57). It will have been the new brick house which first attracted to him the attention of the assessors, and we may thus suppose it to have been built or building in 1807.

The house was sold to Simon Forrester by Timothy Williams and Samuel Putnam, trustees, under Little's will, April 3, 1815 (205:248), and occupied by Forrester's daughter Nancy and her husband Gideon Barstow, being sold to Thomas Trask by the trustees under Forrester's will April 18, 1844 (343:108). It was later occupied by Robert Brookhouse. At some time before 1910 a wider addition was made in front, bringing the property out to the street line for commercial occupancy, and destroying the old porch. We have, unfortunately, no record of the interior.

Joseph Sprague, Jr., House

380 *Essex Street*

Built about 1807, much remodelled

Principal owners: Sprague, Peabody, Silsbee

(Figures 283-286)

The house was not included in the list of brick buildings in Salem published in the *Salem Gazette* February 4, 1806. Oliver Thayer who was born in a wooden house on the site, speaks of it as "torn down, I think, about 1806."⁵⁰ The construction of the brick house must soon have followed, for the inventory of the estate of Major Joseph Sprague, who died at 384 Essex Street February 13, 1808, lists his mansion house "adjoining Joseph Sprague Jr's new brick house."⁵¹

The house has been much remodelled. The mantels of the first floor have been replaced with marble, but those of the second floor which survive are of the type characteristic of McIntire, the mantel in the southwest room having one of his carved baskets, placed, like the one in the Thomas Butman house (1806-1807), in a beaded oval. The cornice has the split dentils which first appear in McIntire work about 1808.

The hall was drastically remodelled during the Greek revival. We may assume that the hall was originally shallower, leaving room for the circular stairs which, in the remodelling, were pushed into a wooden addition behind, in the angle of the ell.

Both the main cornice of the house and that of the portico have forms derived from the *American Builder's Companion* by Benjamin and Raynerd, published late in 1806. While McIntire's interior detail elsewhere, from about 1808, was influenced by this publication, there is none of his later houses where such forms were adopted on the exterior. We must assume that McIntire's participation in the work was limited to interior embellishments, of which the mantel illustrated is the only survival.

The stable, much changed, suggests by its central arch the type introduced in Salem by McIntire. The house was later owned by Colonel Francis Peabody, by Samuel Williams, by John H. Silsbee, by Julian d'Este, and by Arthur Lougee.

⁵⁰ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XXI (1884), 214-215.

⁵¹ *Essex Probate Records*, 376:395.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

Enoch Dow House

151 Lafayette Street

Built 1807-1809; demolished about 1910

Principal owners: Dow, Osgood, Williams, Hurley

(Figures 287-291)

The attribution to Samuel McIntire rests on the style, and particularly on the resemblance to the Felt house built next door in 1809 from his plan.

The land was acquired by Dow on July 19, 1806 (180:29). The tax valuations on Dow's property are as follows:

1805	shop and half house		\$1200
1806	pt. house and 2 shops		1400
1807	pt. house and 2 shops	\$1200	
	house lot So. field	150	
	"Brick H"		1350
1808	House and Shop	1500	
	New Brick House, unfinished	1000	
			2500
1809	House & Shop		2600
1810	House & Shop		2600

The house in question, on the lot in the South Fields, was thus built in 1807-1809.

Enoch Dow died June 12, 1813. His inventory of July 29 (Probate Records 385:62) lists the property as "a brick house and outbuildings, together with the land" at \$5,000. All his real estate was sold by order of the court, June 20, 1814 (386:264). The house was later occupied by the families of Osgood and Williams, and by Mayor Hurley. It was demolished shortly before the Salem fire of 1914, which swept this area.

Most of its interior trim was then preserved, and much still survives. Some details belong to the Essex Institute. One mantel was placed by the late Henry Morrill Batchelder in his house nearby and destroyed in the fire. The remaining woodwork was later installed by Philip Horton Smith in his town house on Federal Street, Salem, and in his country house in Wenham. It is here illustrated by his kind permission.

Gideon Tucker House

129 Essex Street

Built 1808-1809

Principal owners: Tucker, Rice

(Figures 292-294)

Bentley wrote September 24, 1803 (III, 47): "This day the family house of Grafton, Essex Street just above Elm Street, was sold for 5000 dollars at Public Vendue." This was then an old house, which Colonel Benjamin Pickman had described in 1793 as "owned and occupied by three old maids, the Grafton's." Gideon Tucker, who bought it, contented himself at first with a new fence, as we see by the following bill:

Works in Architecture

Gideon Tucker, Esqre to Saml McIntire Dr.

to festoons & pattireas for 4 Piers at 9/6	6:33:0
Carving Blaze on 4 Vases at 1/6	1: :
	£ 7:33:

Salem 17th July 1804

This fence was replaced before the age of photography by one of cast iron.

The brick house still standing was not built at this time, for it does not appear in the list of brick houses standing in Salem in 1806 published in the *Salem Gazette* for February 4 of that year. The period of its erection and McIntire's responsibility for the plans and the carving is indicated by another bill, as follows:

Major Gideon Tucker Esqr to Saml McIntire Dr

to Several Drawings for Dwelling house, Chaise house, Barn &c	£ 10: 0:0
to pr hard wood Capitals for Chimney-piece	11:67:
to hard wood Basket 18/ pr Blockings	4:
to two 7 inch Capitals for Portico at 10/ pr Inch	23:33
to two 3/4 Do	15:86:
to two Do for Pilasters	12:50:
to 4 small Capitals for front fence	6: :
to Carving 4 Vases for Do	3: :
	£ 86:36:0

Salem 31st Augt 1809

Among the Tucker papers at the Essex Institute are the complete bills of which we quote those for interior work as follows:

Mr. Gideon Tucker to Micaiah Johnson Dr.

1808	Oct.	21	To turning fourteen Doz & eight banesters @	\$ 100	
				2.25 pr doz ⁿ	33.00
			To turning two do		00.37
					33.37
1809	Feb.	15	To turning four jamb Columns		1.83
		16	" turning two feet & four inches of Cheese moulding @ 1/6		0.58
	Mar.	28	" turning five feet of Cheese moulding		1.25
		31	" turning Seven feet & nine inches do. @ 2/		2.58
			" turning Eight Stair posts		3.00
	Apl.	3	" turning five feet of Cheese moulding @ 2/		1.67
		4	" turning four jamb columns		1.83
		8	" turning two do @ 4/		1.33
	May	8	" turning one stair post		0.37
	Jun.	13	" turning four Columns for portico		12.00
					\$26.44
				deduct	.81
					\$25.63

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To Eben Moulton Dr.

May	23	1809	for Boring Columns 44 feet at 4 Cents a foot	\$1.76
			to Splicing a Ventilock	\$1.25
				\$3.01

To Micaiah Johnson Dr.

1809	July	13	To turning three doz ⁿ & five banesters	6.67
		20	“ turning six doz ⁿ of Closepins @ 40 Cents	2.40
	Aug.	3	“ hewing & turning four Eight inch urns	6.00
				\$15.07
				discount 1.07

To Elijah Johnson Jr Dr.

Sep.	9	1808	To 4 fanlights 1 of 6 ^{dols} & 3 of 3 ^{dols}	15:00:0
Dec.	27		To 1 fanlight 9 ^{dols}	9:00:0
				£ 24:00:0

To William Luscomb Jr (among other items)

May	19	1809	Painting y ^e House, outhouses & fences &c	490.00
			Laying 62 Rolls paper	50
				31.00

To Benjamin Day

Feb.	14	1809	to two pair of Jams to Mantles masureing 36-6	
			At 75 Cents pr. foot	\$27.37
May	15		to two freestone Harths Masure 29-5	22. 7
			to Cutting Marble Returns	1.25
Jul.	29		to one top step Masure 52 foot att 1 dollar foot	52.00
			to narrow steps Masuering 10 foot At 75 cents	75.00
			to one Gutter Stone	2.00
				\$179.69

To Levi Maxey Dr

Mar.	31	1809	For 2 setts of Marble slips for fireplaces	
			meas ^d 22 feet @ 9/	\$33.00
			“ Carting Do.	.37½
				\$33.37½

To Thomas Perkins Dr

May	5,	1809	3 marble hearth pieces	@ 10.	\$30.00
			6 pcs for ditto	@ 75¢	4.50
					\$34.50

To John Archer Jr

1809	Nov.	11	4 Chimney Boards	\$5.27
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Works in Architecture

To Samuel Bacall [sic] Dr

1809	To Stucco Cornice for 2 Rooms containing 169½ feet @ 2/6	70.62
	To rendering walls in Do. 87 yards (with plaster of Paris) @ 8¢	6.96
	To 2 Center pieces	21.00
		\$98.58

To Saml Torrey Dr.

1809	18	<i>Apl.</i>	6 Rolls paper	@ 1.05	6.30
			11 do. do.	@ 2.25	24.75
			14 do. do.	@ 2.85	39.90
					70.95

To J. & I. Newhall Dr.

<i>Aug.</i>	15	8 Pieces paper	@ 7/6	\$10.00
		14 do. do.	@ 7/6	17.50
	18	1 do. do.		1.25
	28	2 do. do.	@ 5/6	1.84
				\$28.09

To Eben' Francis Dr

1809	To 18 Rolls of French Paper Hanging with Borders	\$51.50
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Among the Tucker papers at the Institute is also a detail-drawing endorsed "Bacoll [sic] Sketch of Stucco Cornice in Western Room."

After being in the ownership of Rice, the house passed in 1896 to the Father Matthew Catholic Total Abstinence Society. The porch which formerly adorned the house was removed, and is preserved in the garden of the Essex Institute. We publish for the first time some interior veiws taken before the remodelling of 1896. The original stairway was then already gone, and today little of the old interior detail survives.

Archer or Franklin Building

Essex and Newbury Streets

Built 1809-1810; burned 1860

(Figures 295-300)

Two plan studies marked "Col Archer's Plan at Andrew's Corner" exist in McIntire's scrap-book, and the papers at the Essex Institute also include a bound set of drawings with the title "Plan of Franklin Building" added at some early date. McIntire's handwriting abounds on all the drawings and there is no doubt that this building is to be added to the list of his works.

The time occupied by the building of the block is fixed by three entries in Bentley's diary: June 21, 1809: "This week was taken down the Old Higginson House at the Corner of the Common . . . now sold to Col. Archer. The buildings are to be removed & New Brick Stores to be erected" (III, 442). August 9, 1809: "The foundations of the new Building corner

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of Newbury street, are now preparing" (III, 453). December 27, 1810: "St. John's was celebrated in the Lodge Room which is now removed from the buildings in Market Street to the Buildings called Wakefield place, corner of Essex and Newbury street" (III, 551). In the interim Samuel Archer had failed, and the building had fallen to Josiah Dow, who named it after his native place, Wakefield, New Hampshire. Nevertheless the name of "Archer Building" stuck until the adoption of the title "Franklin Building" about 1818. (Cf. Bentley, IV, 163, 248, and 567).

The building was damaged by fire January 29, 1845, and again January 4, 1859, before being destroyed by fire October 21, 1860.

Thomas March Woodbridge House

48 Bridge Street

Built 1809-1810

Principal owners: Woodbridge, Short

(Figures 301-309)

The attribution to McIntire rests on the character and details of the carved interior finish.

The major portion of the lot (along with an old house on Vine Street) was bought by Thomas March Woodbridge and Mary, his wife, on May 16, 1801 (169:54). On September 7, 1805 they added a small strip at the rear (176:244). Their tax valuations are as follows:

1800 to 1807	No record.
1808 pt. house.	\$900
1809 pt. house.	\$1000
1810 pt. house & "new house & land, B. Street."	\$3200
1811, Real Est. B. Street.	\$3000.
1812, Real Est. B. Street.	\$4000

It thus appears that the house was built in 1809-1810.

After Woodbridge's death in 1822 the house passed through many ownerships, being occupied for a long term of years, until recently, by Miss Emma H. Short, and remaining — in spite of dilapidation — substantially intact.

After her death some of the woodwork was removed and installed in 1929 in the clubhouse of the Creek Club, Glen Head, Long Island. The house was subsequently acquired and is now owned by The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Joseph Felt House

153 Lafayette Street

Built 1809-1812; burned 1914

Principal owners: Felt, Roundy, Chapman

(Figures 310-315)

McIntire's plan, entitled "Sketch for Capt. Felt" is identified, as corresponding with this house, by Mr. William Oliver Chapman, who owned and occupied it for many years. Joseph Felt, 3d, bought the land on Lafayette Street adjoining the Dow house April 29, 1808

Works in Architecture

(182:291), and erected a brick house which stood until the great Salem fire of 1914. The plan is drawn on the same kind of paper as two of the drawings for the Archer Building, which was projected in 1809 and finished in 1810. The tax valuations of Joseph Felt, 3d, are as follows:

1808	Pt house and lot land.	\$900
1809	Pt house and lot land.	\$1800
1810	Pt house and lot land.	\$1800
1811	Pt house and lot land.	\$1200
1812	House, S. Salem, (whole).	\$2000

We may conclude that the house was built in 1809, although possibly it was not completed until 1812.

Mr. Chapman has kindly allowed us to reproduced unique photographs of the interior taken before the fire of 1914, which destroyed the house.

Jabez Baldwin House

92 *Washington Square*

1809-1812

Owners: Baldwin, Lyman

(Figures 316-321)

The house is one with which McIntire had some connection, though the extent of this connection is difficult to establish precisely.

Its construction may be fixed at 1809; its finishing evidently continued until after McIntire's death. Ann Briggs married Jabez Baldwin in 1804, and the house was built on some of the land left by her father, who had died in 1803. The valuation books of 1809 show an increase of \$2,000 on his assessments for "New Brick House." Bentley first visited the house June 17, 1817 (IV, 459), when he wrote "They have a spacious house, outhouses and gardens and great appearance of full prosperity."

The exterior design conforms to that of the McIntire houses of his late period, such as the Woodbridge house. The Corinthian capitals of the porch are not unlike Samuel McIntire's work, although the standing rose which serves as a fleuron suggests the hand of his son. In the northwest parlor is a mantel of which both the general design and the carved ornaments may be referred to the father, although the reeded cove of its bed-mould is a feature not found in his other known work. It would seem that the interior woodwork of the houses, aside from the carved ornaments of this mantel, was executed by Samuel Field McIntire and other craftsmen. We find the split dentils familiar elsewhere in his work, and also dentils scalloped by multiplied gougings. The sinkages characteristic of the date, which occur in the alcove arches and in certain dados, are richly elaborated. While the circular stairs follow the general type inaugurated by McIntire in Salem, other interior features — like the inside casings of the front doorway — are unlike his style, and we may suppose that his participation was limited to supplying the general design of the house and a few carvings for it.

The place descended in the family to the heirs of Dr. Jabez Baldwin Lyman, without suffering more than a few very minor changes.

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Benjamin Williams Crowninshield House

180 *Derby Street*

Built 1810-1812

Principal owners: Crowninshield, Miller

(Figures 322-324)

Benjamin Williams Crowninshield, Member of Congress and Secretary of the Navy under Madison and Monroe, acquired the land of his father September 17, 1810, and was taxed in 1811 on land and a brick house in Derby Street assessed at \$1,500, a valuation which would indicate the house was still unfinished. The general design and the interior woodwork are closely related to those of McIntire's later houses, and he may well have designed the house before his death February 11, 1811, although the execution of the woodwork will doubtless have fallen after that date, perhaps to his son. The stairs are closely similar to the front stairs of the Baldwin house. April 8, 1814 Bentley writes (IV, 248): "the Company assembled at Hon. B. W. Crowninshield's, Derby S. bet. Curtis & Orange St." The house was occupied by President Monroe on his visit to Salem in July, 1817. The porch, of Greek character, must owe its form to a time after 1820.

The house was afterwards occupied for many years by General James Miller, and ultimately passed to the Association for the Relief of Aged and Destitute Women. In 1906 and again in 1916 extensive additions and alterations were made.

Plan for a House for William Sheppard Gray

99-101 *Federal Street*

Designed after 1808; *demolished*

(Figure 325)

The sketch, endorsed by McIntire "Wm. S. Gray's Plan" is preserved in the scrap-book. William Sheppard Gray⁵² was the cashier of the Essex Bank. The location of the house appears in a passage of Bentley's (IV, 542), August 24, 1818:

Rather a wounding day to the Pride of Salem. The Bank called Essex, & most proudly located in Market Street has suffered in its reputation by the absence of the Cashier, Sheppard Gray, & his endorser, James King, the second, both married in the Town, Gray was a g. g. son of Mr. Gray who held the lot below us on the Common range & has passed with many as rich. He bought Revd. Fisher's house in Federal street & built a superb house on the Lot. James King has become a favorite for his bounty at military parades, & aid of parties of pleasure. It is known that they have withdrawn. The Bank directors are upon search into the state of the bank which these men had in trust. This was the first incorporated Bank in Salem. The first derangement of the affairs of the absconding persons is attributed to their connection with one Thomas in the plan of keeping Merino Sheep in Windsor, Vt. which proved a total loss to the Company as Thomas managed it.

⁵² Cf. *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LVI (1920), 145.



Figure 14. Stairs of the Clifford Crowninshield House, 74 Washington Square,
1804-1806.



Figure 15. Mantel of the Clifford Crowninshield House, 1804-1806.

Works in Architecture

Among many parcels of land which he purchased, were two lots in Federal Street bought in 1800 (167:58 and 73), each with dwellings having a total frontage of 115½ feet. The tax records are inconclusive as to the date of erection of the new house, as they show part of a house valued at \$1,000 in 1800, \$1,200 in 1801, omitted in 1802, \$1,500 in 1803, omitted in 1804–1806, \$1,500 in 1807, omitted 1808–1811, but it will presumably have been after 1808. The *Salem Gazette*, May 10, 1851, carried notice of an auction of a “Large brick house 99–101 Federal street etc. 125 ft. front & about 160 ft. depth, built by late Mr. Gray.” The house has entirely disappeared, and we cannot be sure whether it followed McIntire’s plan.

House “For Captain E . . .”

(Figure 326)

Our efforts to identify or date this house have been unavailing. From its being wood we may perhaps assume that it was before 1805, few fine houses of wood having been erected in Salem after that date. McIntire’s handwriting on the plan is not of his earliest period, and the position of the chimneys in the end walls of a wooden house, thought motivated by the service stairs, also points to a time in his middle years.

There were not many Salem ship-captains of the period whose surnames began with E, indeed the only one mentioned by Bentley is Captain Henry Elkins, in whose mother’s old house on Essex Street Bentley lived from 1783 to 1791. This Captain Elkins married in December, 1783, and when he died in 1836 left, beside the Essex Street house, a house on Bath Street (Washington Square, South) valued at \$4,500, but apparently this house does not survive, so we are unable to determine if it followed McIntire’s plan.

Plan for “Mr. Sweet’s House”

Designed after 1805

(Figure 327)

The plan, with this title in Samuel McIntire’s handwriting, was drawn on the rear flyleaf of a thin book of engravings described in Appendix A.

The identity of the house has not been further established. There were few Sweets or Swetts in Salem, but many in nearby Marblehead. Enoch Sweatt of Salem had a house on Bath Street, Salem. It would seem from the tax valuations that it was built in 1800, as the value of \$1,000 appears then and continues with variations through 1802. Sweatt died about January, 1804, and his inventory lists a house and barn at \$1,800. It seems doubtful, however, that McIntire made the present plan as early as 1800, for his houses with stairs so arranged are from the period after 1804. More probably it was made for another Mr. Sweet, whom we cannot identify.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

Barn of the Derby Farm

Removed from Peabody to Watertown, 1925

(Figures 328, 329)

At the Derby farm in Peabody stood until 1925 a great barn with elliptically-arched doors, apparently from the design of Samuel McIntire.

We have not succeeded in determining surely the date at which this barn was built. The inventory of Elias Hasket Derby's estate March 4, 1805, speaks of the farm "with house, Barns, hot House, Gardens, &c" (Probate Records 372:332). Bentley's accounts of his visit to the place and other descriptions, visited in connection with the summer-house there, throw no light on the matter. A belief has persisted in the family that some of the timbers of the buildings were brought from a warehouse on Derby Wharf in Salem.

In 1925 the barn was taken down and removed to Watertown, where it has been re-erected on the premises of the Abraham Browne house, owned by The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. (Cf. The article by Mrs. George L. Underwood in *Old-Time New England*, XVI [1925], 55-64.)

Other Work at the Derby Farm, Peabody

(Figure 330)

The house at Elias Hasket Derby's farm, still existing, was probably built before he bought the place of Samuel Epes in 1776 (Cf. our discussion of the Derby summer-house, *ante*). Bentley spoke of it in 1790 as "itself a mere country House, one story higher than common with a rich owner." The portico at the front door was apparently added about this time, and thus was presumably designed by McIntire. It has three-quarter columns against the house (instead of pilasters), like several of McIntire's houses of this period. The sheds at the rear have a treatment with arches, characteristic of McIntire's work after 1793.

The mantelpiece in the parlor at the left of the door is of a period well after 1800, and of a type not found in McIntire's work. It should doubtless be assigned to the time of the Crowninshield ownership. Many door-casings date from about 1825, at which time also the front door was enlarged, with a transom and side-lights.

Unidentified Fences

(Figure 331)

Most of McIntire's fences have been discussed in their chronological order. In his scrap-book is a design for a curved fence which it has not been possible to identify. If we may venture a date, it would be about 1805.

Works in Architecture

Doorways

After 1800

(Figures 333-335)

A number of Salem doorways, with motifs now familiar to us, may be referred to Samuel McIntire or his son.

At 19 Margin Street, until the Salem fire of 1914, was a pedimented doorway with engaged Corinthian columns, on an older house which had been moved in 1838 from its first site at 125 Washington Street. This door was unique in having on the frieze a carved basket and draperies with fruit and flowers, of the type first adopted by Samuel McIntire from Raynerd's plates about 1808.

At 40 Summer Street, on a gambrel-roofed house of the mid-eighteenth century which in recent years belonged to Edward C. Browne, is a doorway with reeded pilasters and carved rosettes and draperies.

Similar draperies and rosettes appear on the doorhead of the Towne house at 9 Federal Street. The fluted bell capitals of the pilasters here suggest that this doorway is the latest of all those with such motifs.

Mantels

After 1800

(Figures 336-341)

Various mantels installed in houses not otherwise associated with McIntire, or of which the source is unknown, may be recognized by their style as his work.

The late Francis Shaw of Wayland, Massachusetts had (beside the mantel from the Derby farm in South Salem, previously mentioned) another fine McIntire mantel of provenance now unknown,⁵³ which was illustrated as Number 174 in the catalogue of his collection sold by the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries, New York, December 14, 1935. Its carved central basket is flanked by composition ornaments repeating some of those of the Samuel Cook and Joseph Hosmer mantels, so that it may probably be dated about 1804-1807.

In the house built by Joseph Hosmer at 80 Washington Square, which Bentley states (II, 464), was raised May 2, 1795, and which, from its generally belated style as compared with McIntire's work after 1792, can scarcely have been designed by him, are certain mantels of a later date than the house. One of these, on the first floor has a carved eagle very similar to that of the Registry of Deeds mantel (1807). The profiles and the arrangement of the composition ornaments also point to McIntire as certainly the author of this very fine mantel. Its date, judging by other examples of the eagle, will have been not before 1805. The mantel in the northwest chamber, with its heavily fluted Ionic pilasters and rolled cyma is of a later date, and cannot be attributed to McIntire with any assurance.

Frye's Tavern, 94-96 Boston Street, had two simple mantels which from their design

⁵³ So Miss Miriam Shaw, his daughter, kindly informs us.

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and ornaments, may be attributed with probability to Samuel McIntire. Daniel Frye, innholder, bought the land in two parcels, each of them having a dwelling house. One was conveyed by Nathaniel McIntire February 12, 1788 (147:260), the other by Samuel Goodell April 17, 1790 (152:99). In the tax books of Ward 4 Frye was assessed as follows:

1790	House and land.	\$ 200
1791	House and New House (the latter possibly the one purchased from Goodell).	300
1792	New House.	300
1793	Homestead.	300
1794	Homestead.	450
1795	Homestead.	1,500
1796	Homestead.	1,500
1797	Homestead.	2,000
1798	1 house.	2,000
1799	House and out house.	2,500
1800	House and out house.	2,500
1801	Homestead.	2,500
1802	Homestead.	2,700
1803	Homestead.	2,700
1804	Homestead.	2,700
1805	Homestead.	2,700
1806-10	Homestead.	2,700
1811	Homestead.	1,800
1812	Homestead.	1,800
1813	Homestead.	1,800

From the large increase in 1795 it would appear that the surviving building was built, at least in part, in that year. It may well have been enlarged in 1797 and 1799, by doubling the width to the present six bays and by adding the wings to the rear. We may presume that the house was later fitted up more richly, as time went on and the prosperity of the innkeeper increased, with mantels carved by McIntire. The character of the woodwork in both parts of the house indicates a date of 1808 or later. The mantel in Number 94 has split dentils, the woodwork of the parlor in Number 96 has cloth swags—both features first appearing in McIntire's work about that time. Bentley, in his diary, several times mentions the tavern:

July 4, 1805 [III, 70] The republicans dined at Frye's at the entrance to the Town. (i.e., Boston Street).

Dec. 10, 1807 [III, 332] We had our fire club dinner at Frye's, 13 members present.

Administration of Daniel Frye's estate was granted December 8, 1813 (Docket 10280) and the inventory, filed January 5, 1814 includes "his late dwelling house and outhouses," valued at \$6,000. It was sold September 18, 1817 (215:194) to Jacob Putnam and Benjamin Hawes as tenants in common, and northwestern half (Number 96) was assigned to Hawes in a division made July 9, 1819 (221:147, 148). This half passed through several hands, and was occupied in 1842 by Elijah Hanson, hence the name sometimes applied to the building, the Putnam-Hanson house.

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In 1931 the principal room of each house was removed and sold. That of Number 96 appeared as Lot 314 in the Benjamin Flayderman sale at the American Art Association-Anderson Galleries in New York April 18, 1931. That of Number 94 was acquired by the City Art Museum of Saint Louis and installed in its building the same year.

In the house at 21 Norman Street where Samuel McIntire was born, owned and occupied after 1796 by his sisters and his brother Joseph, there was a mantel with a carved basket and with convex panel-filling in the pilasters, as in work of Samuel in the period about 1807-1809. If Joseph had carved it we would expect to find other examples like it after Samuel's death in 1811, which is not the case. We may thus believe it to be the work of Samuel. The house was demolished in 1932 to make way for the new Post Office; an old photograph of the mantel in the collection of the Essex Institute is too faded for reproduction.

In the gambrel-roofed house built about 1740-1750 by Timothy Lindall at 393 Essex Street certain mantels were introduced at a much later time during the occupancy of the Reverend Thomas Barnard (*d.* 1814). The mantel and dado of the parlor we consider to be the work of Samuel McIntire. The coupled columns, indeed, are not found in mantels documented as by him, first appearing, except for this example and one in the Ham house, in his son's work, but the proportions and the carving are so excellent that we scarcely doubt that Samuel McIntire himself was responsible for them. The date will have been late in his career, certainly after the appearance of the *American Builder's Companion*, in which motifs of the mantel appear, perhaps about 1810, as in the case of the Joseph Tufts house mantel described below. This woodwork is now installed in the dining-room at Tallwood, Huntington, Long Island, the estate of R. T. H. Halsey. The mantel in the third-floor rear chamber has fine composition ornaments, but the profile of the cornice is confused, unlike any profile of Samuel McIntire's, and the crude pilasters above likewise preclude the idea that he can have been concerned in the work.

In the parlor of the Joseph Tufts (Ham) house, 67 Main Street, Peabody, was until recently a mantel which we consider to have been the work of Samuel McIntire. It has slender colonnettes arranged like those of the Lindall-Barnard mantel, and a bed-mould fluted as in that one; the basket and wheat sheaves are substantially identical with those of the mantel from Frye's tavern now in Saint Louis and like them were painted in colors at an early date. This mantel, which may be dated about 1810,⁵⁴ was auctioned in the Benjamin Flayderman sale in New York, 1931.

Ornaments Carved by or after Samuel McIntire

After 1800

(Figures 342-347)

We have seen that Samuel McIntire's fame as a decorative carver had spread sufficiently to the northward so that an order for certain carvings was received from Portsmouth after his death. Thus it does not surprise us to find employed here and there outside of Salem iso-

⁵⁴ Joseph Tufts bought the land without buildings March 7, 1809 (187:242), and sold it with the buildings thereon, May 14, 1811 (199:202), to Benjamin Goodridge, who sold in 1845 to Benjamin Proctor, who sold in 1850 to Samuel Ham.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

lated ornaments which are either from his hand or copied literally from his work by one of his family.

In the house built by Langley Boardman at 14 Middle Street, Portsmouth, now the Marvin house, are a number of such ornaments. Although this fine house is reputed to have been built by 1800, the interior details in general — influenced by Benjamin's book of 1806 — seem to be of the period of 1810. The parlor mantel embodies some carvings of McIntire's best period: two columns with composite capitals, the shafts wreathed with laurel; a fine carved basket in the center panel. The relation of the columns to the chimneybreast, the use of rosettes about the basket, and the small composition pendants beside the columns are all uncharacteristic of McIntire. There would seem to be little doubt that the elements secured in Salem were combined with others and installed by Boardman, who was himself a joiner and cabinet-maker.

In the Kittredge house at North Andover, which itself was built under the influence of McIntire's design for the Jerathmeel Peirce house, there is a mantel with ornaments which appear to have been carved by McIntire in his late period: a basket and two draperies. The design of the mantel, while itself inspired by McIntire's style, differs from his work in many respects — indeed its whole effect is made strikingly different by the conspicuous chevron ornament. The profile busts of Hamilton which adorn the end-blocks are examples of a composition model which was a favorite in Federalist homes after Hamilton's death in 1804.

In the Albert Goodhue house, 47 Warren Street were two mantels (now in storage) from the George Fabens house on High Street, which have carved ornaments apparently by Samuel McIntire. One has a basket of fruit which appears to have been somewhat restored. The other, remarkable for the uncanonical relation of pilasters and frieze, has in the center panel a trophy of musical instruments identical in design with the one at the Clifford Crowninshield house (1804-1806).

In the Joseph Cabot house, 365 Essex Street — a fine building of about 1750 — there is in the southwest room a mantel the history of which is worth placing on record. William Crowninshield Endicott stated that he picked this up in Salem and installed it during his own occupancy of the house. When he acquired the mantel (which appears to be an authentic McIntire example of simple type) it was without ornaments. He added to it the eagle and sheaves from other salvage material. Our photograph shows the mantel in this form. When he removed to Glen Magna Farm, Danvers, he took these ornaments with him. The Lows, who succeeded to the occupancy of the Cabot house, filled the gaps with modern ornaments, including a basket.

Another mantel with an excellent carved McIntire basket and wheat blockings is in a front room of the Emerson house in Topsfield, now the property of Mrs. Katherine Choate. Thomas Emerson, who died in 1813, is believed to have built a house on this site which was then incorporated in a larger house by his son Billy (he is so called in probate and tital records and perhaps was so baptized). While other details of the room are based on McIntire's later style, the manner of their employment is unlike either Samuel McIntire's or his son's, and we must assume the ornaments were bought and applied by some other craftsman.

Works in Architecture by Samuel Field McIntire

Robert Cook (Kimball) House

14 *Pickman Street*

Built 1811

Principal owners: Cook, Kimball

(Figures 348, 349, 352, 353)

The documents cited below would by themselves leave in doubt whether the house was designed just before or just after the death of Samuel McIntire February 6, 1811, but it is safe to say that its finishing will not have been executed until after that date. The attribution of its carving to Samuel Field McIntire rests, as in the case of the following houses, on grounds of style, as discussed in our text.

Robert Cook acquired the land in two parcels, both without buildings: the earlier plot, fronting the street, for \$640 by deed of September 6, 1806 (177:210), and the land behind this for \$325 by deed of April 26, 1807 (183:153). Cook died in 1815, his will being dated June 7 and probated August 1. The inventory shows one "3 story brick dwelling house . . . on Pickman Street." The first record of any taxation for Robert Cook is in 1811, when his property is valued at \$1,500, the same valuation continuing in 1812, 1813, and 1814. It would appear that he probably built his house in 1811. His children sold the property for \$1,800 August 23, 1839 to James S. Kimball (314:255), whose daughter Miss Sarah Kimball occupied it until her death in 1923.

Joseph Fenno Houses

Hawthorne Boulevard (formerly 12-14 Elm Street)

Built 1811-1812

Principal owners: Lakeman, Bertram, Woman's Friend Society

(Figures 350, 354, 355)

The brick building originally comprising two houses, was erected by Joseph Fenno after 1809 and was apparently still unfinished in 1811, as will appear by the following history of the property. Miles Ward deeded to Fenno in June, 1796, a tract on the west side of Elm Street, which Ward had acquired by several conveyances, between 1782 and 1793 (Deeds 161:6). No houses are conveyed by this deed, and none are mentioned in these previous conveyances (except in one from Ebenezer Ward which mentions buildings, but not of brick). No house on Elm Street appears in the list of brick houses in Salem in 1806.⁵⁵ The tax books of Ward 1, rate Fenno as follows:

1806-1809	House.		\$1800
1810	(Tax book missing).		
1811	Brick House.	\$1500	
	Homestead.	\$1200	\$2700
1812	Brick House.		\$2400

⁵⁵ *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, I (1859), 55.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver

The increase in valuation of the brick house from \$1,500 to \$2,400 between 1811 and 1812 would seem to indicate it was not completed in 1811. On March 18, 1812 Fenno gave a mortgage for \$2,200 on the property, "together with two dwelling houses and all other buildings standing on the premises" (Assignments 196:238), and on August 14, 1814 sold the lot, "with dwelling houses of brick and wood," to John W. Fenno. He conveyed the southerly house (Number 14) to Joseph W. Peabody May 14, 1812 (Deeds 229:251); the northerly house (Number 12) to Aaron Perkins May 29, 1832 (247:159), Perkins then selling this house, with less land, to Ebenezer Lakeman June 4 of the same year (263:298). Lakeman's heirs sold it to John Bertram April 16, 1879 (1015:49) and he immediately deeded it to his daughter (1017:60) in trust, to be occupied by the Woman's Friend Society, to whom she deeded the property April 21, 1884 (1132:89). At this time the southerly house was owned by William O'Donnell.

The mantel in the front parlor forms part of the original finish of the house. The one in the rear parlor, also by Samuel Field McIntire, was brought, according to the late John Robinson, from the house at 2 Chestnut Street, which he once occupied.

Mantels in the Robert Cook (Millet) House

12 *Pickman Street*

1813-1815

Principal owners: Cook, Millet, Varney

(Figure 356)

Robert Cook bought this land in two parcels: one of 50 feet frontage with no buildings, for \$459.34, by deed of September 24, 1810 (190:259); the other of 32 feet frontage, west of the former, "with the workshop and all other buildings thereon," for \$340.00 by deed of September 15, 1813 (202:122). Cook died in 1815, so that the existing wooden house will have been built between 1813 and 1815. The guardian for his two minor heirs sold the land, with dwelling house, to Nathaniel Weston for \$1,850.00 July 28, 1823 (233:179). After acquiring the adjoining vacant land extending to the corner of Pleasant Street Weston sold the entire property to John Bertram August 17, 1829 (252:263), and Bertram conveyed it to Charles Millet June 22, 1836 (291:68). In more recent years the house was known as the Varney house. It still stands, but suffered destructively in 1920.

Interiors of the Ebenezer Shillaber House

128-130 *Federal Street*

After 1811

(Figures 351, 357)

Ebenezer Shillaber bought the land for \$1,050 of John Appleton, January 23, 1800. His tax valuations for 1801 show a large increase, with a "new house" at \$2,000. The inventory filed after his death in 1807 includes "1 Mansion house garden out houses &c on Federal Street \$8000." His widow rented the house in two parts, and it continued to be a double house. After 1865 it belonged to members of the Shreve family.

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Although, as indicated above, the house was built in 1800-1801, the interior detail by Samuel Field McIntire seems to indicate additions and remodellings after 1811. Thus the vases in sunken medallions on two doorways are identical with examples in the Robert Cook (Kimball) house. These doorways and a mantel have the split dentils which we have seen in Samuel Field McIntire's work at Oak Hill. The Shillaber house has now been drastically altered and much of the finish has been removed.

The dealer Kaufman of Boston advertised in *Antiques* for December, 1930, a mantel which appears to be by Samuel Field McIntire. It is closely related to some of Samuel McIntire's mantels in the Thomas March Woodbridge house, 1809-1810, but has the split dentil not found there. Mr. B. Kaufman informed us this mantel came from a house on Federal Street, Salem. Was it not perhaps the Shillaber house, stripped about that time, which had such dentils? The mantel was listed as Number 82 in the King Hooper sale in New York, December 3-5, 1931. Another McIntire mantel, with basket, sheaves, and split dentils, also said to be from Federal Street was described as Number 358A in the catalogue of that sale, but not illustrated there.

Works in Sculpture by Samuel McIntire

Figurehead

Peabody Museum, Salem

(Figures 360, 361)

This figurehead, two feet in height, was acquired by the Essex Institute in 1891 from Thomas F. Hunt, along with a carved pilaster capital. The accession entry states that they were "purchased of Henry G. Rose, whose father-in-law married a granddaughter of Samuel McIntire from whom these had been handed down."

The belief that the figurehead was indeed carved by Samuel McIntire is supported by a sheet of sketches for various ship-carvings, on the back of a detail-drawing by him for a Corinthian capital. Beside a characteristic McIntire basket, several designs for taffards, and a billethead with an eagle, these sketches include one for a figurehead bearing a shield, suggesting the medallion in our example, which itself recalls McIntire's medallion of Washington. The treatment of the drapery of the legs is reminiscent of that of the Skillin's, whose work so much influenced McIntire.

Bust of John Winthrop

1798

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester

(Figure 362)

Bentley wrote May 12, 1798 (II, 268): "Mr. Macintire is engaged to make my bust of Winthrop, & spent the day in examining my collections in this way." May 21 he chronicled the completion: "Mr MacIntire returned me my Winthrop. I cannot say he has expressed in the bust anything which agrees with the Governour" (II, 269). The work was displayed in East Church as part of its decorations for the Fourth of July, 1804: "In the front, below, in a Bust cut by Mr. Macintire, an ingenious artist of Salem, was Gov. Winthrop" (Bentley, III, 96). It passed under Bentley's will, with many of his effects, to the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester.

The Society owns a miniature of Winthrop furnished by Bentley to McIntire for reference. This shows only the face; the shoulders and back hair were supplied by the sculptor from other sources or from imagination.

Bust of Voltaire

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester

(Figure 363)

Although this bust is not mentioned in Bentley's diary, and the accession records of the American Antiquarian Society, at that early period, do not mention it specifically, there can be no doubt that it belonged to Bentley and was carved by McIntire. The Society never received any other collection of material similar to Bentley's; the busts obviously form a pair,

Works in Sculpture

with the same dimensions and with pedestals of identical outline. In each there is a long tapered hole bored up from the base, with a transverse groove to admit air to this.

The obvious superiority of the Voltaire to the Winthrop was doubtless due to the availability of a plastic prototype. One's expectation that some small English porcelain bust of Voltaire might have furnished a model is confirmed by one of Chelsea Derby ware, of which an example passed by auction in New York on January 14, 1927, in the collection of Tom G. Cannon (illustrated as Number 762 of the catalogue). In spite of a marked difference of effect, the derivation is unmistakable: in the draping of the fringed and fur-lined cloak, in the coat, the jabot, and other details—but above all in the presence, on the base, of an identical trophy, with a lyre, a pipe and a stylus suspended by a ribbon. As a coincidence this is unthinkable; McIntire must have had before him an example of this very bust. True, in the porcelain bust the sitter's shoulders and head are inclined, whereas in McIntire's they are rigidly level and vertical, but this is merely the contrast between the easy mastery of the English modeller and the primitive struggle of the American craftsman.

For any hint of the date of the Voltaire we have only the reappearance of the lyre trophy in a mantel of the Clifford Crowninshield house, 1804-1806, and the mention of musical instruments in relief on the case of Dr. Oliver's organ, 1802.

Medallion Relief of Washington

1802-1805

Essex Institute

(Figure 364)

Bentley notes in his diary May 22, 1802: "Subscription for elegant gates to the Washington Square alias Common" (II, 431). The subscription paper, published in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections*,¹ is "For the purpose of executing the designs for four gateways, as given by Mr. Samuel McIntire." John B. Felt in his *Annals of Salem* (1845), speaks of the gates being "designed, arched and ornamented by Mr. Samuel McIntire," and Benjamin F. Browne, in publishing the subscription list in 1862, says that McIntire designed the gates and "executed the carvings." He adds, "these were erected some three or four years after the levelling and railing,"² which would give 1805 or 1806 as the date they were placed in position. We reproduce elsewhere a view of the west gate with its medallion of Washington. Taken down in 1850, it has been in the Museum of the Essex Institute since 1891.³

Writers have frequently repeated that the relief was carved after a sketch made by McIntire from life. The assertion of this in print was first made in 1862 by Benjamin F. Browne, who wrote: "When Washington visited Salem [1789] Mr. McIntire had an excellent place and opportunity to view him: taking this advantage he then made an excellent profile sketch of him, from which he executed the carved medallion."⁴ In several accounts of McIntire's work⁵ this statement had still been accepted at its face value.

¹ IV (1862), 136. ² *Ib.*, 6.

³ Accession Number 2975. The medallion is 38 by 56 inches.

⁴ "An Account of Salem Common . . ." in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, IV (1862), 266.

⁵ Dyer: "Early American Craftsmen" (1915), 39. Cousins and Riley: "The Woodcarver of Salem" (1916),

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Comparison of the medallion itself with other Washington portraits, however, makes evident that it cannot have been from an original sketch by McIntire, but belongs among the large number of derivatives from Joseph Wright's profile etching of Washington, made probably in 1790.⁶ This is likewise a bust in uniform, in profile facing the right, in an oval. A copy of this etching was sent in this year to William Bentley of Salem, a patron of McIntire, who recorded in his diary December 15, 1790: "Received from Hon. Goodhue an etching of General Washington . . . it was performed by a Son of the celebrated Mrs. Wright, remarkable for her Wax-work."⁷ Wright's etching achieved instant popularity and was copied many times, for instance in the *Massachusetts Magazine* for March, 1791,⁸ and in an etching by Joseph Hiller, Jr., of Salem, 1794.⁹

McIntire was already familiar with some version of the Wright profile by 1792, for in the section "on line A" of his competitive design for the Capitol in Washington, of that year, appears an oval portrait medallion obviously belonging to the Wright type. Nevertheless in the relief of 1802 it seems to have been the Hiller copy of 1794 that he followed, rather than the original by Wright which Bentley could have lent him. Comparison shows that without question McIntire's relief was derived from the Hiller etching, with its elongation, and the hard folds of the chin and jaw. Only in the costume has McIntire modified and developed Hiller a little.

Eagles in the Round

(Figures 366-371)

McIntire carved in wood a number of eagles in the round, all of substantially the same type, with wings held parallel to the body. One example can be dated, the one which adorned the west gate of the Salem Common, or Washington Square, erected 1802-1805. It remained in place until 1850, when it was removed to its present position on the City Hall.

Others crown the barn at the Jerathmeel Peirce house and the cupola of the Derby house on Washington Street. Still another, reputed formerly to have been at this house, later the property of Robert Brookhouse, now stands on a porch railing of the Brookhouse villa on the Swampscott-Marblehead road. A similar eagle is said to be preserved at Jamaica Plain by the Rice family, descendants of Robert Brookhouse.

Eagles in Relief

The chief such eagle surmounted the door-portico of the old Custom House erected in 1805 (Figure 373).

It conforms closely to a woodcut of an eagle found pasted in the smaller of the McIntire

⁶ Number 74 in W. S. Baker's "The Engraved Portraits of Washington" (1880), Number 138 in C. H. Hart's "Catalogue of the Engraved Portraits of Washington" (1904), where it is reproduced facing page 66.

⁷ "Diary," I (1905), 219.

⁸ Baker, Number 77; Hart, Number 143.

⁹ Hart, Number 140. "An Etched Profile Portrait of Washington by Joseph Hiller, Jr., 1794" in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, XLIII (1907), 1-6, where Hiller's plate is restruck as a frontispiece.

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scrap-books (Figure 372). The cut includes a scroll with the inscription AMERICAN FEDERALIST, and would appear to have been clipped from some newspaper, or broadside. Mr. Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society, who has listed all American newspapers before 1820 in the leading American libraries, kindly informs me that he knows of none with that title, and we have been unable to identify the source of the clipping.

A large eagle of the same type adorns the north front of Hamilton Hall, about 1805-1807, and small ones appear on mantels of the Registry of Deeds, 1807, and the Joseph Hosmer house.

Appendices

A. *The McIntire Drawings and Documents*

The main body of drawings by McIntire and others, here reproduced, was acquired by the Essex Institute in two lots. 1) Two scrap-books, now dismembered, of miscellaneous designs have been in its possession from a period before the keeping of modern accession records, and their source is not known to the officials. Very probably they are the "2 Books of Draughts" valued at one dollar in McIntire's inventory. With these was an album of drawings of the Archer Building, and a thin book of engravings (also now dismembered) which had been used as a scrap-book chiefly of drawings for ship-carvings. The engravings were of English buildings, including the Mansion House and Royal Exchange, with titles in English and French. Although the inside front cover bore the inscription "Joseph McIntire, Salem, 1826" (i.e. the nephew of Samuel McIntire), the use of the book as a scrap-book certainly went back to an earlier time, for some of the drawings for ship-carvings are on paper with a water-mark "1791," one sheet has a list of timbers for Samuel McIntire's turnpike tavern at Lynnfield, and the rear flyleaf bears a plan with his handwriting for "Mr. Sweets House." 2) Some time before 1900, Richard H. Derby of New York presented a large portfolio of drawings preserved in his family, which included most of the designs for the Derby mansion, those of the Ezekiel Hersey Derby house, and other works executed for the Derbys.

Many bills and accounts for work executed by Samuel McIntire and his family for the Derbys were included with other Derby accounts in an old sea-chest of papers purchased long ago at Derby Wharf by the early Salem collector, Matthew Stickney, and afterwards acquired for the Institute. The bills and accounts for the Tucker, Boardman, Clifford Crowninshield and other houses are among the Institute's papers of the respective families.

A number of the drawings referred to are signed by Samuel McIntire and most of the remainder may be identified as his by his handwriting. Certain of the Derby drawings are by Charles Bulfinch, as has been determined by comparison with drawings in the collection of his designs belonging to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. A few, marked by clumsy technique and rude diagonal hatchings, appear to be by Daniel Bancroft, the carpenter who built the Derby mansion from McIntire's designs. Still others, discussed above in connection with the Derby mansion, are by Jonathan West and by hands which cannot be identified. Four sheets of drawings by McIntire submitted in the competition for the Capitol in Washington are preserved, with those of other competitors, by the Maryland Historical Society.

Not one of the drawings was dated by its maker, and their dates can only be determined by other documents concerning the work in question, or, where these are lacking, by deduction from the paper employed. The methods followed in the study of papers have been described by the writer in his discussion of the drawings of Jefferson,¹ so that only a few observations relative to the special case of McIntire's papers will be necessary. In contrast with Jefferson, who sat for six hours a day at the writing table, McIntire can have written but little, and instead of some forty thousand letters and papers we have only a few receipts from his hand to assist us in dating the undated drawings. Conditions in a New England seaport were also very different from those on a Virginia plantation, where paper had to be specially imported or purchased in large lots, and a single brand might be used for several years. In the busy commercial town of Salem, paper could be purchased from any one of a dozen shops in small quantities whenever required. Thus we find that for the hundred odd drawings of the McIntire collection almost as many different kinds of paper were used as in the four hundred drawings of the Jefferson collection. It follows that of the majority of brands of paper used by McIntire we have only a single example, and thus can derive no help from comparison. It follows equally, however, that when several examples of the same brand of paper do appear they are all the more likely to have been closely contemporary in their use. Whereas for papers in the Jefferson collection the period of use often extended for two or three years, and in extreme cases for twelve or fourteen years, for the papers in the McIntire collection the known periods of use extend beyond

¹ "Thomas Jefferson, Architect" (1916), 106-116.

Appendices

a single year in two cases only, and in these exceptional cases for but five and eight years respectively. In general we may conclude that McIntire drawings on the same paper were made within a single year.

The time elapsing between manufacture of papers and their use by McIntire, important in the case of papers water-marked with a date, is also somewhat more limited in range than in the case of Jefferson's papers. Of the McIntire papers with a water-marked date and a known date of use the extreme age of any sheet when used was seven years, while seventy per cent were from two to four years old. Thus the average age of three years can be employed with but little error in assigning dates to buildings shown on papers with a date-mark.

B. Books used by McIntire

Samuel McIntire's inventory, as we have seen, included among other books:

One Vol. Palladios' architecture	\$10.00
One Do Ware's Do	8.00
A Vol. of Architecture by Langley	2.00
Do. Do by Paine	2.00
2 Vol. French Architecture	4.00

By comparison with details of his work, derived from them, we have been able to identify several of these and to know by what time he possessed them. The work of Langley was *The City and Country Builder's and Workman's Treasury of Designs* . . . by Batty and Thomas Langley, first published in 1740 and frequently reissued, a favorite work among pre-Revolutionary craftsmen. The use made of it in the Peirce house indicates that McIntire had it by 1780. The "Paine" appears to have been *The Practical House Carpenter* . . . , by William and James Pain, one of many handbooks which they issued. It had appeared in England by 1790, was reprinted in Boston in 1796, and was apparently in McIntire's possession at the time he designed the details of the Derby mansion, not long after it was begun in 1795. It is possible that, bound with this, was another work of the same authors, their *British Palladio*, 1788, which also shows details similar to McIntire's.

Among the publications of Isaac Ware the one owned by McIntire will have been his folio *Complete Body of Architecture*, 1756, as the substantial price indicates. No case of its having served to provide specific models has been observed. Which of the many editions of *Palladio* McIntire had cannot be determined, any more than the identity of the volumes of French architecture. Unless in the high roof and dormer of a drawing for an unidentified building, possibly a stable, no influence from these last appears in McIntire's designs.

For his design for the Capitol in Washington, as we have seen, McIntire had recourse to a work not in his own library, James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, 1728, a folio of which several copies are known to have been in the colonies.

Our comparisons with late examples of McIntire's architectural detail have shown us that he had access, after 1807, to *The American Builder's Companion* by Asher Benjamin and Daniel Raynerd, first published in 1806, and probably knew also Benjamin's earlier work *The Country Builder's Assistant*, which first appeared in 1796.

From the study of McIntire's work in furniture we are further justified in concluding that he had access to Hepplewhite's *Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer's Guide* and Sheraton's *Cabinet Maker and Upholsterer's Drawing Book*, first published in 1788 and in 1791, respectively.

C. Problems of Attribution on Grounds of Style

The attributions to Samuel McIntire in this volume rest primarily on the inner coherence of the body of work ascribed, and on the many connections of this body of work with him, either through documentary mentions of his authorship or through surviving drawings signed by him or bearing his handwriting.

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McIntire's activity, as we know from documents, was of three sorts, in designing of buildings and their details, in executing architectural woodwork, and in carving. On a given building he was not always concerned in all three ways: it would not necessarily follow, because he made a plan for the building, that he carved the detail; nor, because he furnished certain carvings, that he drew the general plan. Indeed we know this was not true in certain instances. The Hersey Derby house furnishes an instance where McIntire executed certain carvings for a building designed by someone else. The Lyman house in Waltham was one for which he made the general designs but was apparently not responsible for the details or execution.

We see from the accounts of the Boardman and Clifford Crowninshield houses, which are preserved in full, that most of the finish woodwork for these was carried out by other craftsmen, Samuel McIntire's share in the payments being relatively small. In neither case do any drawings of his survive, either for the general design or for the details. Nevertheless the details are absolutely coherent in design with his and the general form of the buildings indicates that he established this as well. In view of his known abilities in these lines, and the rarity of such abilities in the town, we find ourselves fairly justified, where other evidence is lacking and where it can be shown that McIntire had in his lifetime any connection with a Salem building, in concluding he was artistically responsible for both the general design and the form of the more ambitious features, although doubtless many simple details were executed without his intervention.

It is pertinent to inquire whether there were not in Salem carvers who might have fallen so far under McIntire's influence that their work might be mistaken for his. Although one might at first suppose there would have been many carvers in Salem in the period around 1800, a careful study of the records shows that this was not the case and that the business there at that time was pretty well confined to Samuel McIntire and his family. Henry W. Belknap in his *Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County* (1927), based on an exhaustive examination of old documents, advertisements and directories, gives data on some sixty cabinet- and chair-makers who were working in Salem between 1790 and 1810, but the carvers during those years were few indeed. E. Godfrey advertised October 15, 1792 that he would be in Salem for two months and "executes in the various parts of sculpture." F. Stokes advertised in 1800 a shop in Essex Street where he did carving, gilding and frame making. He was a creditor of Jacob Sanderson when Sanderson died in 1810, but does not appear in Sanderson's accounts for any great amount of carving.² Neither does Daniel Clarke, who came to Salem in 1794 and died in 1830. In his many bills against Sanderson for cabinet-work the only carving items are for certain sets of chairs. The work of Joseph True, who married in 1809 and lived until 1859 or 1860, becoming well known as a carver, must mainly be of a later character than the style employed by Samuel McIntire. The eagle of the new Custom House of 1818-1819, shown by Custom House records to have been carved by True, is of a different type from McIntire's eagles. These are the only Salem men of that time beside the McIntires who list carving among their activities or who are mentioned as doing it. When Samuel McIntire died in 1811, William Bentley wrote, as we have seen, after mentioning his achievements as a carver and architect, "The late increase of workmen in wood has been from the demand for exportation and this has added nothing to the character and reputation of the workman, so that upon the death of Mr. McIntire no man is left to be consulted upon a plan of execution beyond his bare practice."

Samuel McIntire's father Joseph, a housewright, died in 1776, before the beginning, in America, of the style in which the son achieved distinction. Of Samuel's brothers who survived, Angier is never mentioned as a carver. The other brother, Joseph, and his son, Joseph, Jr., appear to have done but little carving during the lifetime of Samuel, as we have seen. The work of Samuel Field McIntire, of which the first independent record is from 1810, as we have demonstrated, is of a somewhat different character from that of his father. There is thus little danger that we are confusing the carvings attributed to Samuel McIntire with the work of any other craftsman.

In the case of buildings outside of Salem and its immediate neighborhood, the presence of a few ornaments carved by McIntire does not lead to any presumption that he gave the general design. All evidence points to his having stayed very closely in his native town, and the only case we yet know of a building

² Mabel M. Swan in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXX (1934), 337, 341.

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erected outside Essex county from his design is the house for Theodore Lyman who had been married in Salem.³ The ornaments in question, in all cases known to us, were obviously applied by local craftsmen to their own work

In Salem itself carvings from McIntire's hand are known to have been incorporated after his death in houses with which he had no other connection, and it is possible that this occurred in other cases. Certain carvings went in the sale of his effects in 1811, and many more were included in the old materials sold in 1815 on the demolition of the Derby mansion. The few elements surviving from that famous house come down to us through having been used again in other houses, since demolished. It may be said, however, that no old house now standing in Salem is definitely known to contain any further ornament from these sources. The legend that much was employed in the Samuel Cook house we have sought to refute in this book. We may assume that the growing austerity of taste which accompanied the change of style soon after McIntire's death prevented the rich elements of the Derby mansion from finding any great market for re-use.

After what has been said in the text as to the origin and wide distribution of composition ornaments of the types used by McIntire, a claim of his authorship should scarcely be advanced for houses or mantels merely because they show some of the identical ornaments in composition. On the other hand the ornaments of certain rooms in very famous houses, surely executed by McIntire — like the Adam parlors of the Jerathmeel Peirce and Assembly-houses — are entirely in composition, so others where that is the case may also be his. Acceptance as his work requires that the manner of their use be also in accord with his practice. We have accordingly been very guarded in admitting examples, however similar to his, where the only ornaments are of composition.

D. Previous Discussions of McIntire's Work

Samuel McIntire was remembered in Salem through the middle of the century as an architect and sculptor and was mentioned in these capacities by Joseph B. Felt in 1845.⁴ The first formal account of his work, after the obituaries quoted in the text, was a brief one in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for 1862.⁵ Other occasional references to him, arising from antiquarian interest, occur in the same publication at that period.⁶

The colonial revival, beginning about 1876, the year of the centennial of independence, brought an aesthetic appreciation of the Salem houses, and illustrations of them appeared from time to time in the architectural press, but with little solicitude for their authorship. Thus in the three volumes of *The Georgian Period*, published under the editorship of William Rotch Ware in 1899-1902, there are many measured drawings of Salem work, but only a single casual reference to McIntire, as the architect of the South Church.

The late Frank Cousins of Salem was no doubt primarily responsible for the revival of interest in the personality of the craftsman. The remarkable series of photographs taken for Mr. Cousins, of which the negatives now belong to the Essex Institute,⁷ was widely distributed. They furnished the material for many popular articles which illustrated McIntire's work, particularly in *Country Life in America* from 1911 onward. In 1916 appeared a volume by Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley *The Woodcarver of Salem: Samuel McIntire, his Life and Work*, in which were published many of the Cousins' photographs and a few of the basic contemporary documents. Several of McIntire's original drawings were reproduced, with others uncritically ascribed to him. In general, however, the attribution of buildings to McIntire and the

³ Mabel M. Swan states in *Antiques*, XXI (1932), 87 that McIntire, some years after 1797, "was designing houses and receiving sealed bids for their construction, not only in Salem, but in other Massachusetts towns." Unfortunately she has not yet made the documents available by publication.

⁴ "Annals of Salem," 2nd edition, 84.

⁵ IV, 136, 265.

⁶ I (1859), 184, IV (1862), 136, 265.

⁷ They are listed, with others, in a published "Catalogue of Negatives in the Essex Institute Collections" (1925).

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dates assigned to them, based on vague tradition, were arbitrary in the extreme, and errors in these regards occur on almost every page. Much of the same material was used by the same authors in their *Colonial Architecture of Salem*, 1919.

In 1915 Walter A. Dyer included a chapter on McIntire in his book *Early American Craftsmen*, which first emphasized the artist's work in sculpture.

Items dealing with individual works of McIntire are referred to in the notes on such works.

From the time when the present writer was commissioned by the Essex Institute to publish its McIntire material, several articles of his authorship have appeared dealing with various topics related to McIntire's work as follows:

The competition for the Federal Buildings, 1792-1793, *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, VIII (1920), 117-124.

Some Carved Figures by Samuel McIntire, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, XVIII (1923), 194-196. (Its conclusions are partly superseded by later discoveries.)

Samuel McIntire's Portrait of Washington, *Art in America*, XII (1923), 38-40.

The Elias Hasket Derby Mansion in Salem, *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LX (1924), 273-292.

An American Gardener of the Old School: George Heussler, *Landscape Architecture*, XV (1925), 71-75.

The Derby Room and its Furnishings, *Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin*, XXV (April, 1930), 11-17.

A Chest-on-Chest with Carvings by Samuel McIntire, *Old-Time New England*, XXI (1930), 87-89.

Furniture Carvings by Samuel McIntire, *Antiques*, XVIII (1930), 388-392, 498-501; XIX (1931), 30-32, 116-119, 207-210.⁸

The Estimate of McIntire, ib., XXI (1932), 23-25.

Furniture Carvings by Samuel Field McIntire, ib., XXIII (1933), 56-58.

Samuel McIntire, *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII (1933), 65-69.

The material of these, so far as falling within its scope, has been incorporated, with much more, in the present work, and corrected in accordance with the latest researches, some of which have been published in the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* and are referred to in our footnotes.

E. McIntire Genealogy

Condensed from a fuller account kindly supplied by Henry Wyckoff Belknap, here confined to Samuel McIntire's immediate line:

Samuel McIntire's first known ancestor in America was Philip McIntire, first heard of in Reading, Massachusetts, near Saugus, in 1666. It is not improbable that he and Malcolm McIntire were — as we know of Robert McIntire, the other founder of the name of New England — among the Scotch prisoners sent to work at the Saugus Iron Works after the battles of Worcester and Dunbar in 1650-1651.

The direct line of descent to Samuel McIntire is as follows:

Philip, married September 6, 1666. Mary, surname unknown
died after May 4, 1719 and before January 26, 1720

Philip, junior, born March 15, 1666/7
married February 20, 1695, Rebecca Wilkins
died before 1724 ?

Joseph (I), baptised September 2, 1716 in Salem Village (Danvers)
married March 19, 1746/7, Sarah Ruck
died July 1776

⁸ These papers were discussed in three articles by Mabel M. Swan, in *Antiques*: XX (1931), 338-343, and XXI (1932), 86-87, disputing that McIntire was extensively active as a furniture carver, and XXVI (1934), 130-132, acknowledging such activity on the basis of additional documents, also published in *Essex Institute Historical Collections*, LXX (1934), 337, 341.

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Joseph McIntire (I), father of Samuel, was taxed in Salem from 1745. His wife, also of Salem, was the daughter of Samuel and Sarah (Cheever) Ruck. She died February 17, 1795, in her seventy-seventh year. The work of Joseph McIntire as a housewright and carver is discussed in this book. His inventory included a Mansion House, £260, a pew in the North Meeting House, £15, and a personal estate of £99:14:07.

Joseph McIntire (I) had several daughters and three sons, all discussed in this book:

Joseph (II), baptised January 24, 1747/8
married January 2, 1773, Ann (Nancy) Bowden
died June 10, 1825
Samuel, baptised January 16, 1757
married October 31, 1778, Elizabeth Field
died February 6, 1811
Angier, baptised May 20, 1759
married August 31, 1783, Mary Symonds
died about May 27, 1803 (News record).

Joseph McIntire (II), beside two children who died young, left a daughter and a son who was a carver:

Ann (Nancy), married Jonathan Glover
died after 1852
Joseph (III), baptised February 1779
died, unmarried, September 21, 1852
Angier McIntire had three children:
a child, baptised November 1794
Eliza, baptised April 16, 1797
Sarah, baptised April 16, 1797
Samuel McIntire, our subject, had two children:
Samuel Field, baptised August 29, 1779; died an infant
Samuel Field, baptised November 1780
married January 15, 1804, Hannah Hammond
died September 27, 1819
Samuel Field McIntire had the following children:
Sarah Field, baptised May 26, 1804 [*sic*]
baptised July 19, 1804
Samuel, born about 1806
Priscilla Field, baptised January 2, 1808
Hannah Ann, born about 1812

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All towns are in Massachusetts unless otherwise stated.

Houses (except isolated estates, listed under their names) are listed under the towns where they stand, alphabetically by the surnames of their first owners, if stated. The names of other owners mentioned appear in the main alphabet. Salem houses are listed also under Salem at their street address.

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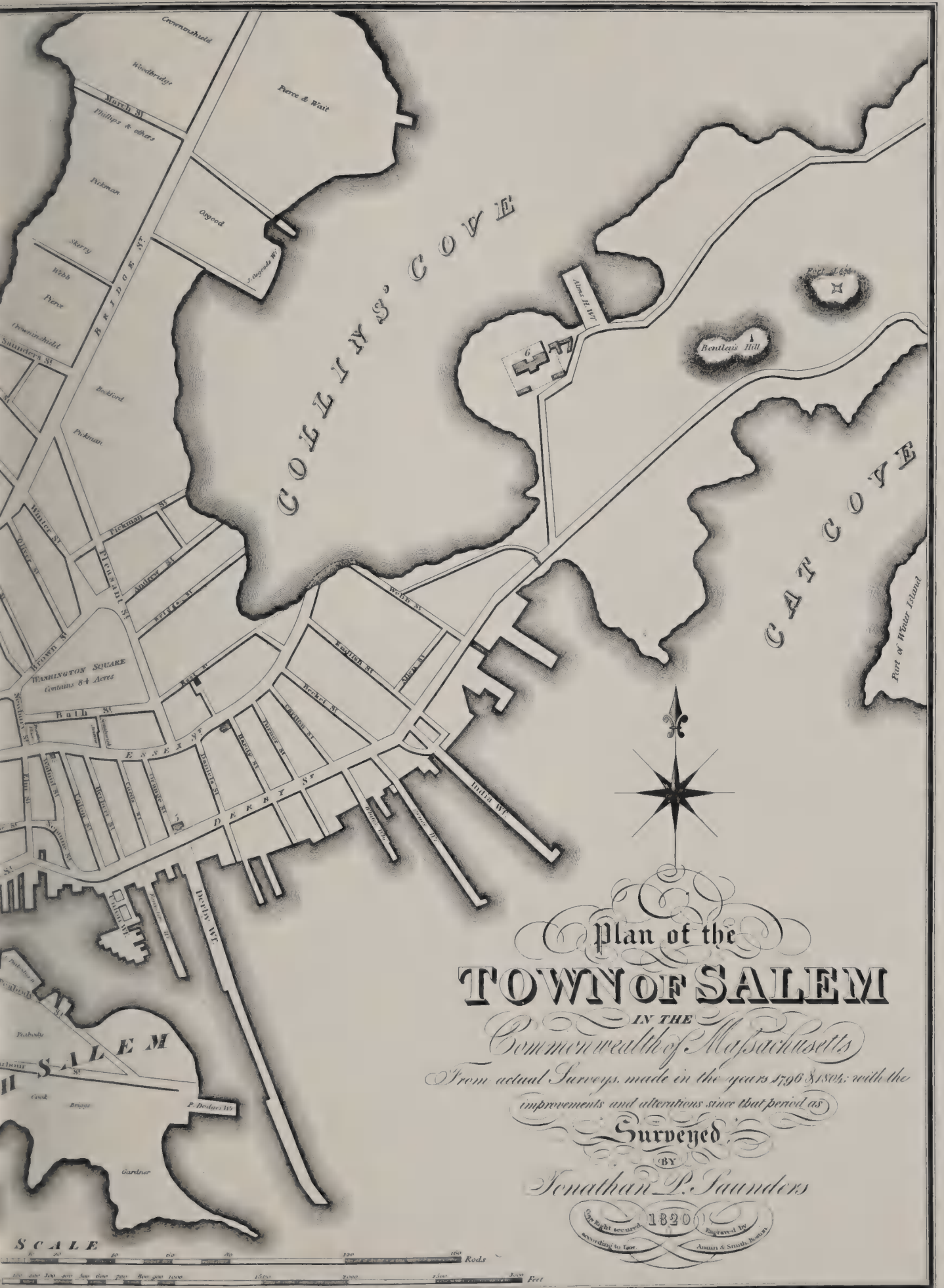
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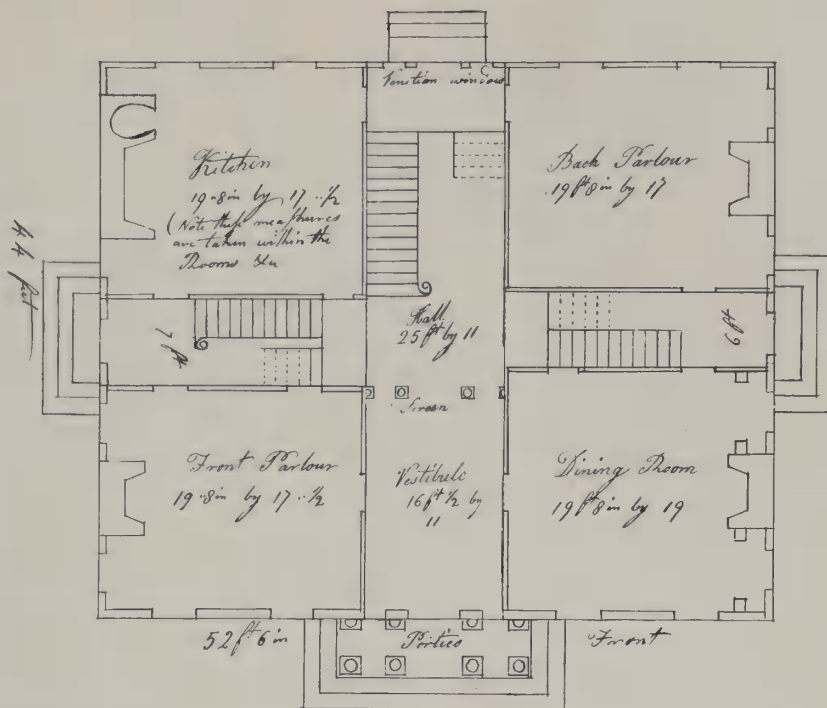
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Figure 16. Map of Salem, 1831.





S. M. Fiske Delin.

Figure 17. Plan for the Elias Hasket Derby House, "By the Wharf,"
96 Derby Street, 1780.

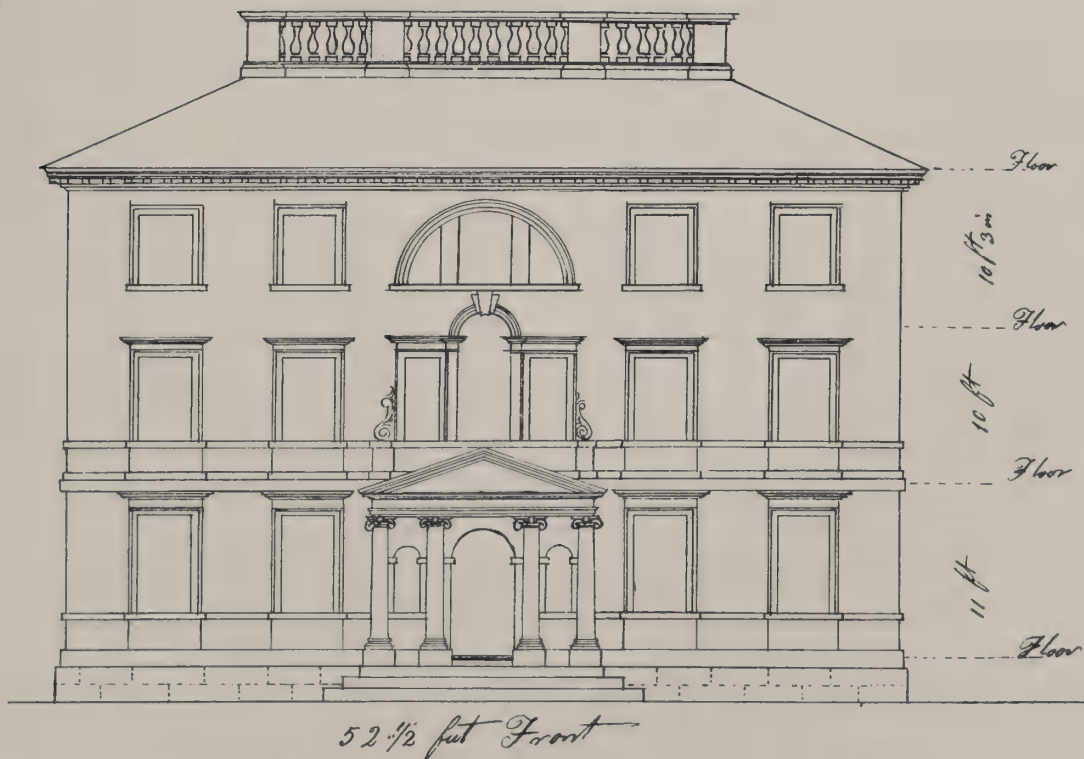


Figure 18. Study for the Derby House, "By the Wharf."



Figure 19. Study for the Derby House, "By the Wharf."

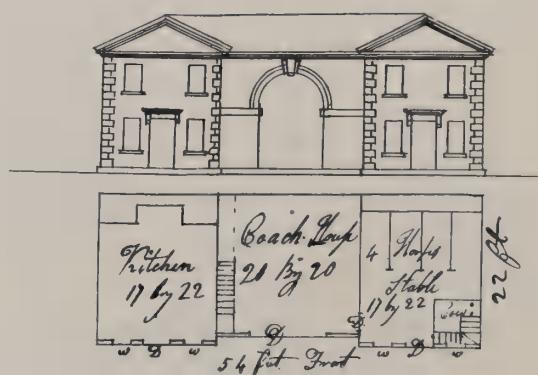


Figure 20. Unidentified Stable, about 1780 ?



Figures 21 and 22. Jerathmeel Peirce House, 80 Federal Street. Front and side porches.



Figure 24. Jerathmeel Peirce House. West parlor, 1782.

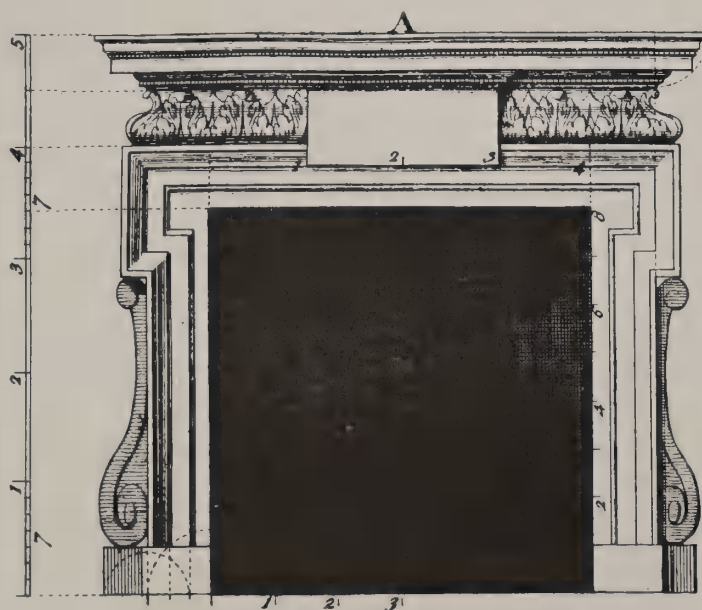


Figure 25. Prototype of the mantel in the west parlor.
From Langley's *Treasury of Designs*, 1745.



Figure 26. Jerathmeel Peirce House. West parlor, 1782.

Figure 27. Jerathmeel Peirce House. West parlor window, 1782.



Figure 28. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Southwest chamber, second floor, 1782.



Figure 29. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Front door in the hall, about 1801.



Figure 30. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Door on the west side of the hall, about 1801.



Figures 31 and 32. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Stairs, about 1801.



Figure 33. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Palladian window on the stairs, about 1801.



Figure 34. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Side stairs, 1782.



Figure 35. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Rear door.



Figure 36. Jerathmeel Peirce House. East parlor door, about 1801.



Figure 37. Jerathmeel Peirce House. East parlor, about 1801.



Figure 38. Jerathmeel Peirce House. East parlor.



Figure 39. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Southeast chamber, second floor, about 1801.



Figures 40 and 41. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Southeast chamber details, about 1801.



Figures 42-44. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Stable, about 1782.



Figure 45. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Stable, about 1782.



Figure 46. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Fence.
Figure 47. Jerathmeel Peirce House. Garden arch.



Figure 48. Francis Boardman House, 82 Washington Square, 1782-1789.



Figure 49. Boardman House. Side porch, 1782-1789.

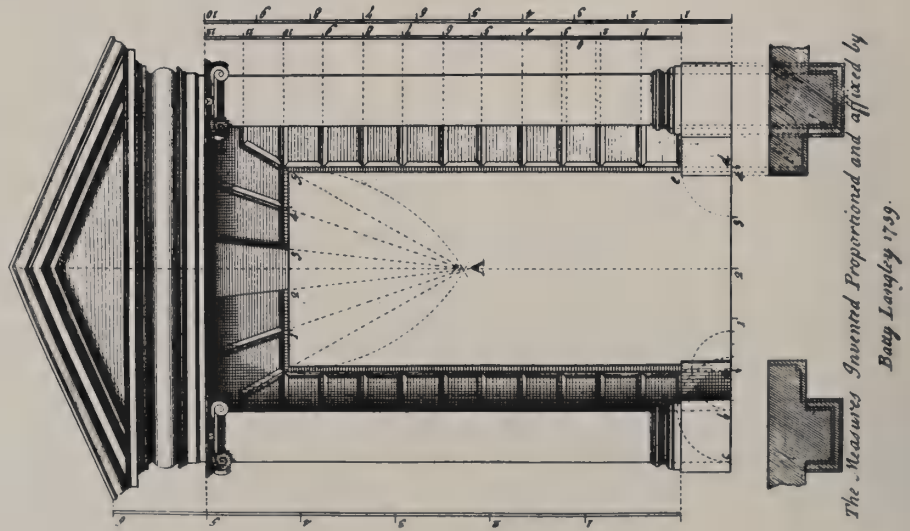


Figure 50. Prototype of the Boardman porch.
From Langley's *Treasury of Designs*, 1745.



Figure 51. Boardman House. Stairs, 1782–1789.



Figure 52. Joshua Ward House, 148 Washington Street, 1784-1787.



Figure 53. Ward House. Chamber.

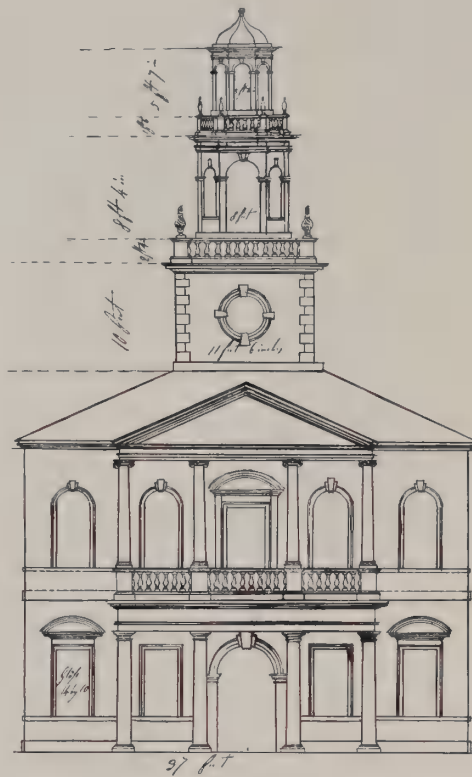


Figure 54. Court-house. 1785–1786. Demolished 1839.



Figure 55. "View of the Court House in Salem," engraved by F. Hill.
From the *Massachusetts Magazine*, 1790.



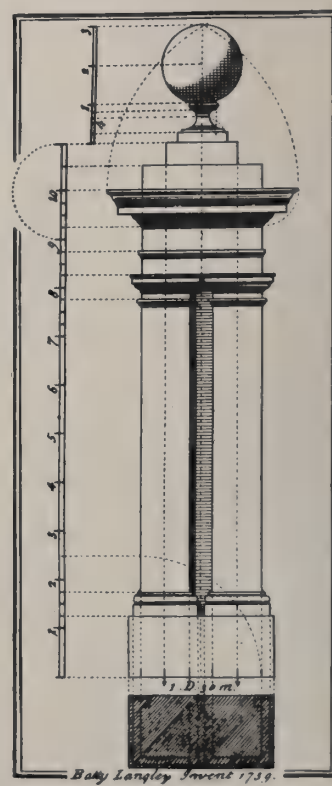
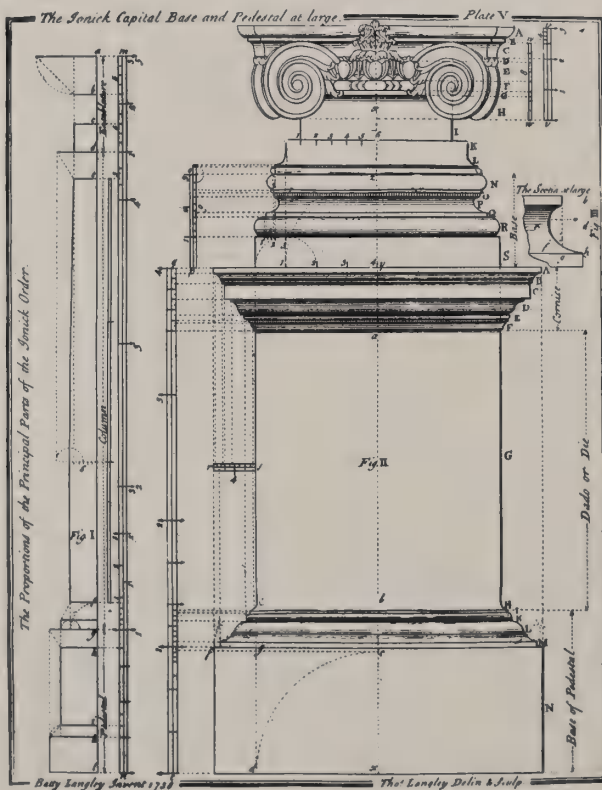
Figure 56. Unidentified House, about 1785 ?



Figure 57. Design for remodelling the Pickman House, 70 Washington Street for Elias Hasket Derby, 1786.



Figure 58. Benjamin Pickman House, as remodelled, 1786. Photograph of 1865.



Figures 59 and 60. Prototypes of elements of the Derby House, Washington Street.
From Langley's *Treasury of Designs*, 1745.

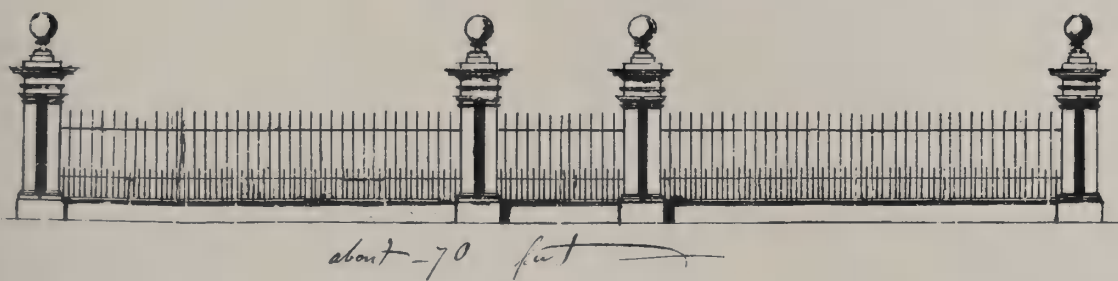


Figure 61. Design for a fence, possibly the one billed to Elias Hasket Derby under date of August 2, 1791, and thus for the Washington Street house.



Figure 62. Painting by Corné, after 1800, in the cupola of the Derby House, Washington Street.



Figure 63. Cupola of the Derby House, Washington Street. Now in the garden of the Essex Institute.

Figure 64. Coach House of the Derby House, Washington Street, 1803.

Photograph by Joseph Everett Chandler



Figure 65. Mantel of the Derby House, Washington Street, 1801. Now in the Boardman House, 74 Washington Square.



Figures 66–68. Designs for the Samuel McIntire House, 31 Summer Street, 1786.

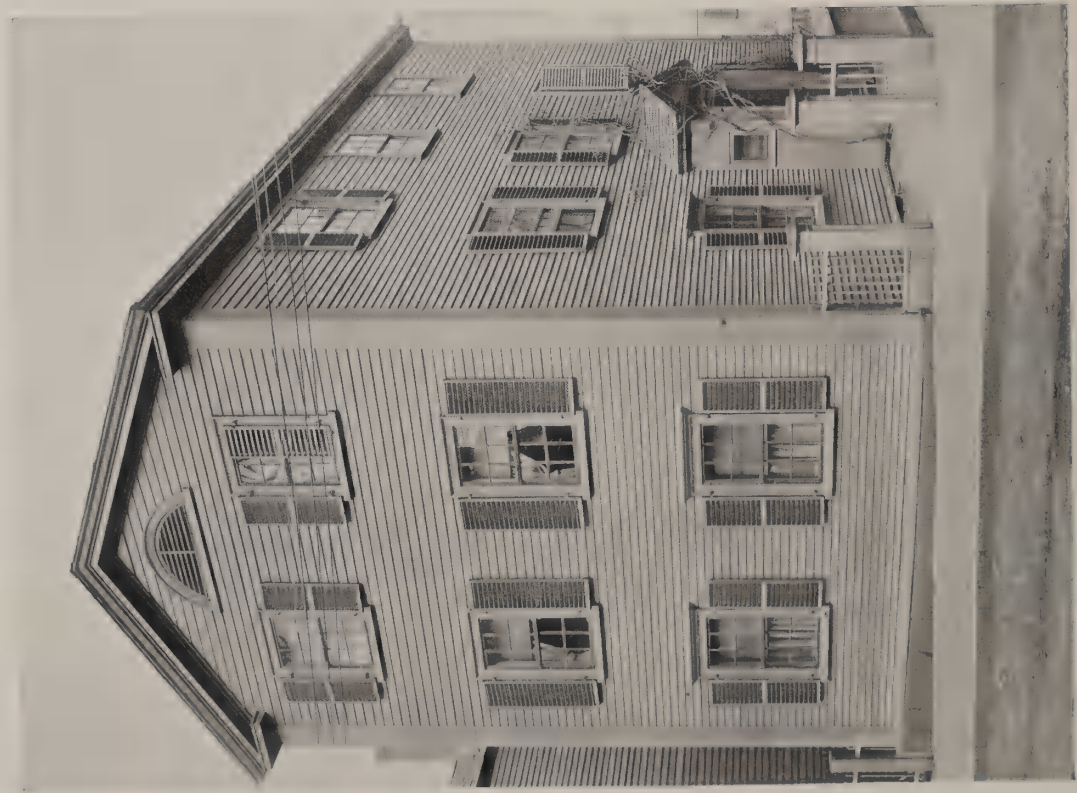


Figure 69. Samuel McIntire House. The third story is a later addition.



Figure 70. Samuel McIntire House. Stairs.



Figure 71. Simon Forrester House, 188 Derby Street, 1791.



Figure 72. Simon Forrester House, Door.



Figures 73 and 74. Simon Forrester House. Stairs.

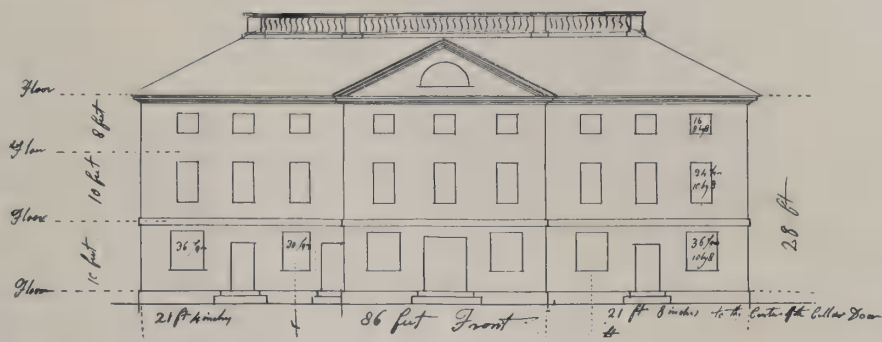


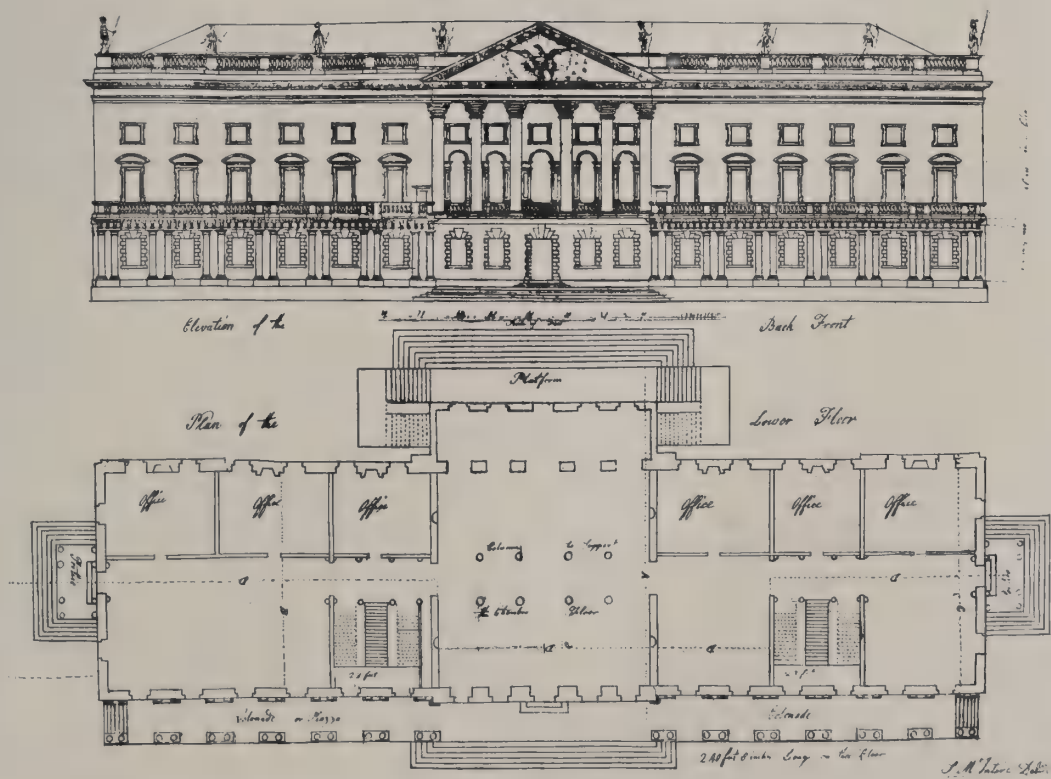
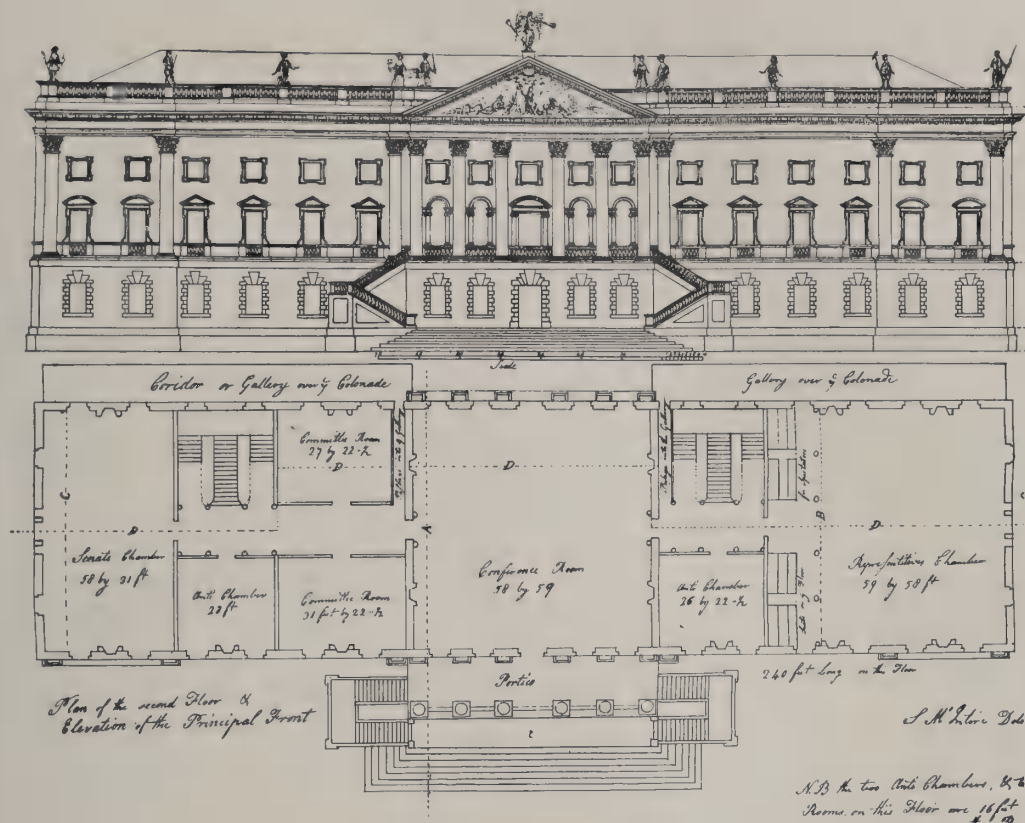
Figure 75. Stearns Block, Essex and Washington Streets, 1792. Demolished 1902.



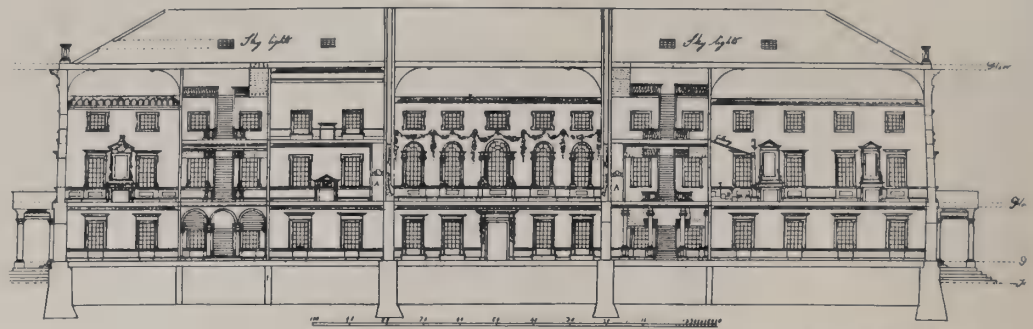
Figure 76. Stearns Block. Photograph of 1855.



Figures 77 and 78. Stearns Block. Washington Hall, 1792.



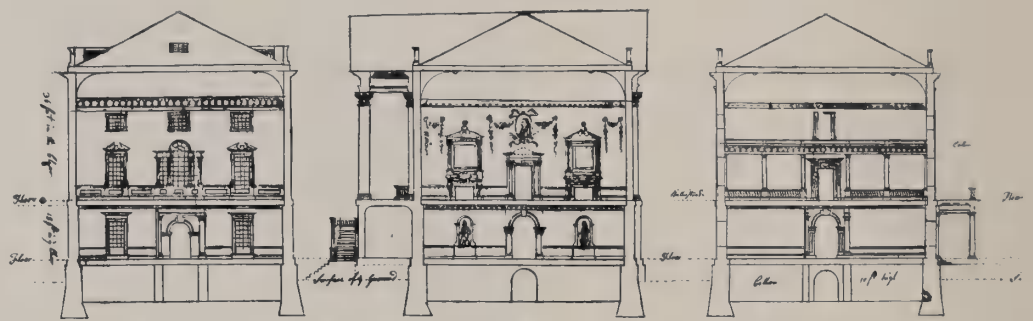
Figures 79 and 80. Competitive Design for the United States Capitol, 1792.
Maryland Historical Society.



Section through the principal line
marked A.A.D.D. in the Plan

A.A. in the front view leading on the gallery
over the colonnade in the study room
B. Hall for the entrance on the floor of the
upper entrance chamber

J. M. Lenoir, D.D.



Section of the front elevation
marked A.A. in the Plan

Section on the principal line
marked A.A. in the Plan

Section on the principal line
marked B. in the Plan

J. M. Lenoir, D.D.

Figures 81 and 82. Competitive Design for the United States Capitol, 1792.
Maryland Historical Society.

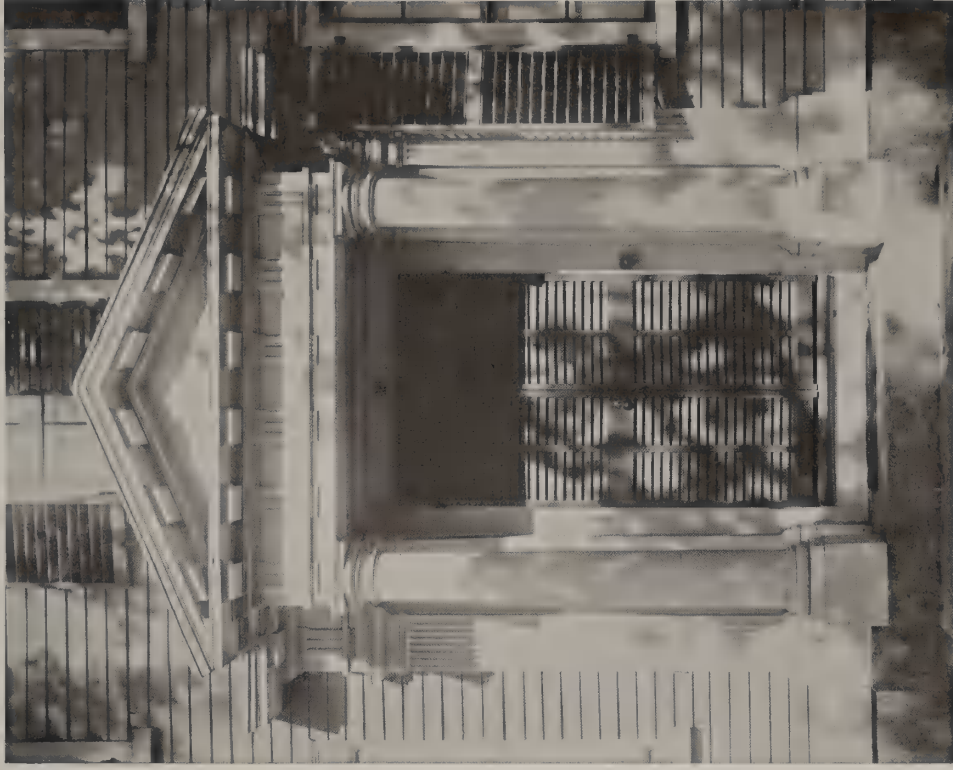


Figure 84. Door of the Stearns House, 384 Essex Street, before 1793.

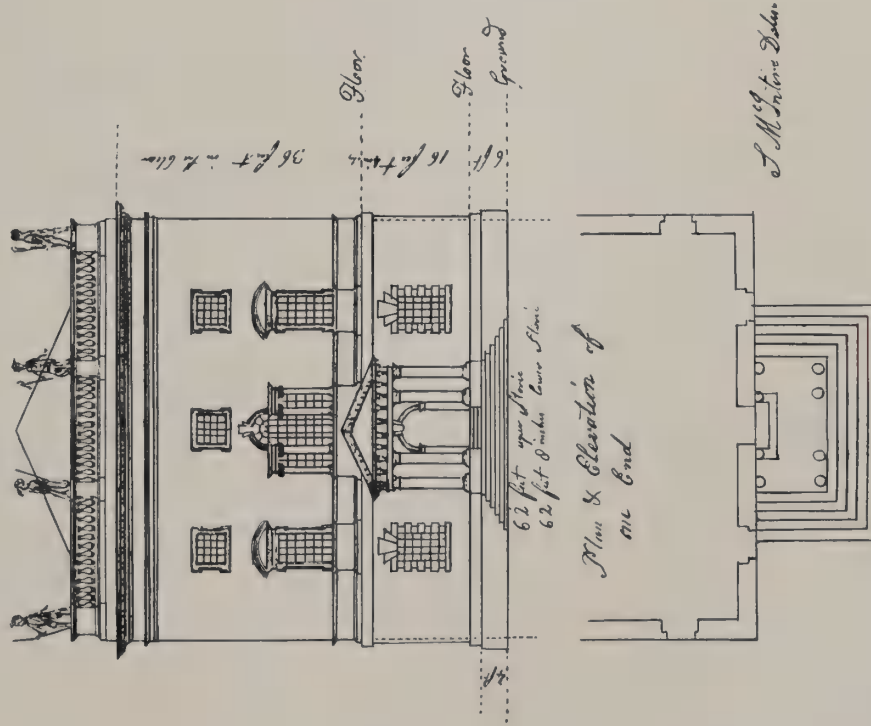
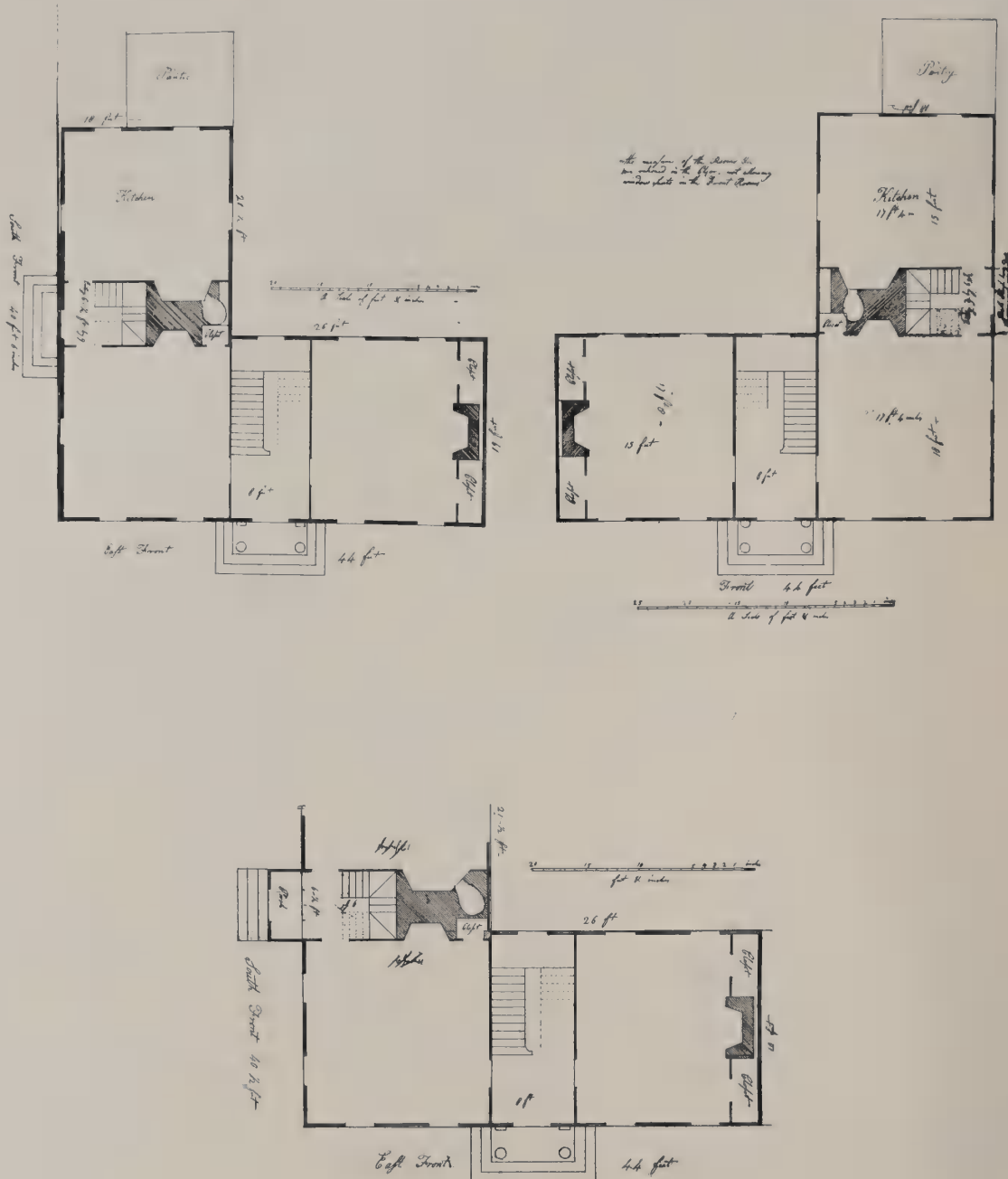


Figure 83. Competitive design for the United States Capitol.



Figures 85-87. Plans for unidentified houses, before 1783.



Figure 88. Nathan Read House, 134 Essex Street, 1793. Demolished 1857.



Figure 89. Nathan Read House. Doorway as subsequently cut down and installed as a mantel at The Lindens, Danvers.



Figure 90. Nathan Read House. Mantel as subsequently installed at The Lindens, Danvers.



Figure 91. Nathan Read House. Door. Now at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers.

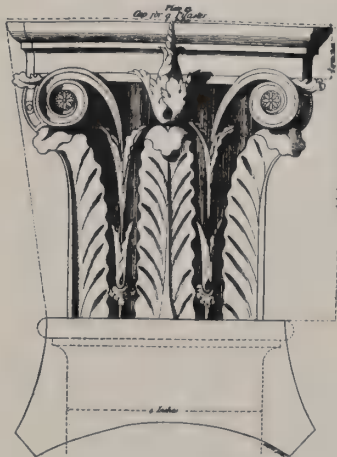


Figure 92. Prototype of Read House capitals.
From W. and J. Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*, first published in 1790.

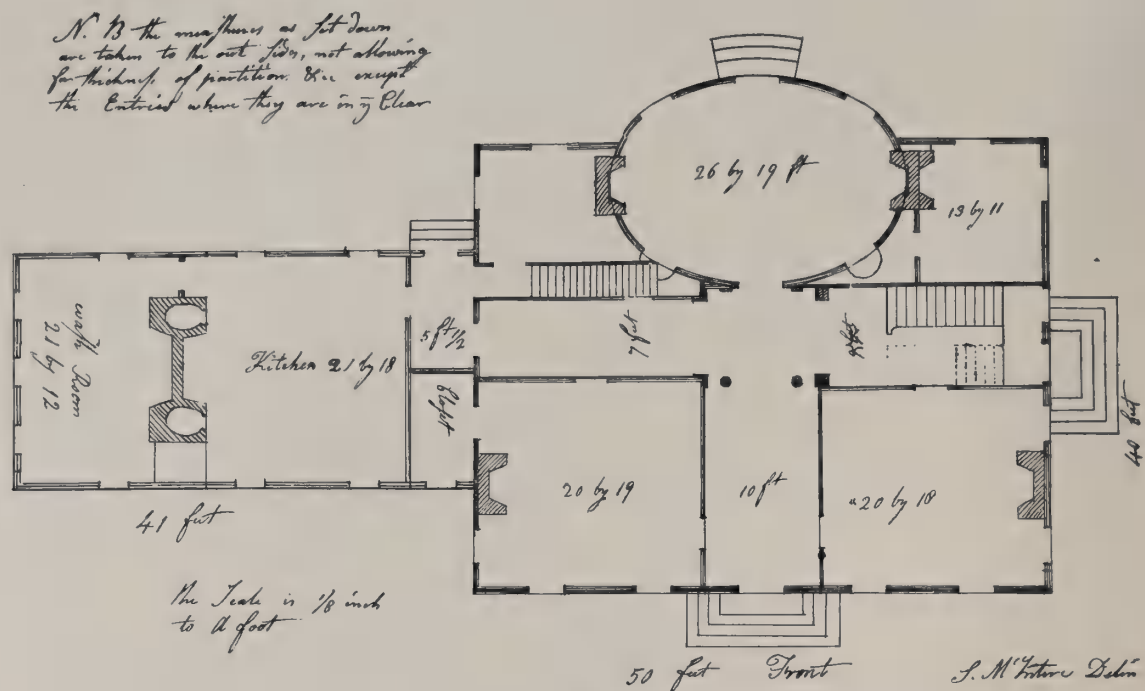


Figure 93. Lyman House, Waltham. Plan. 1793.

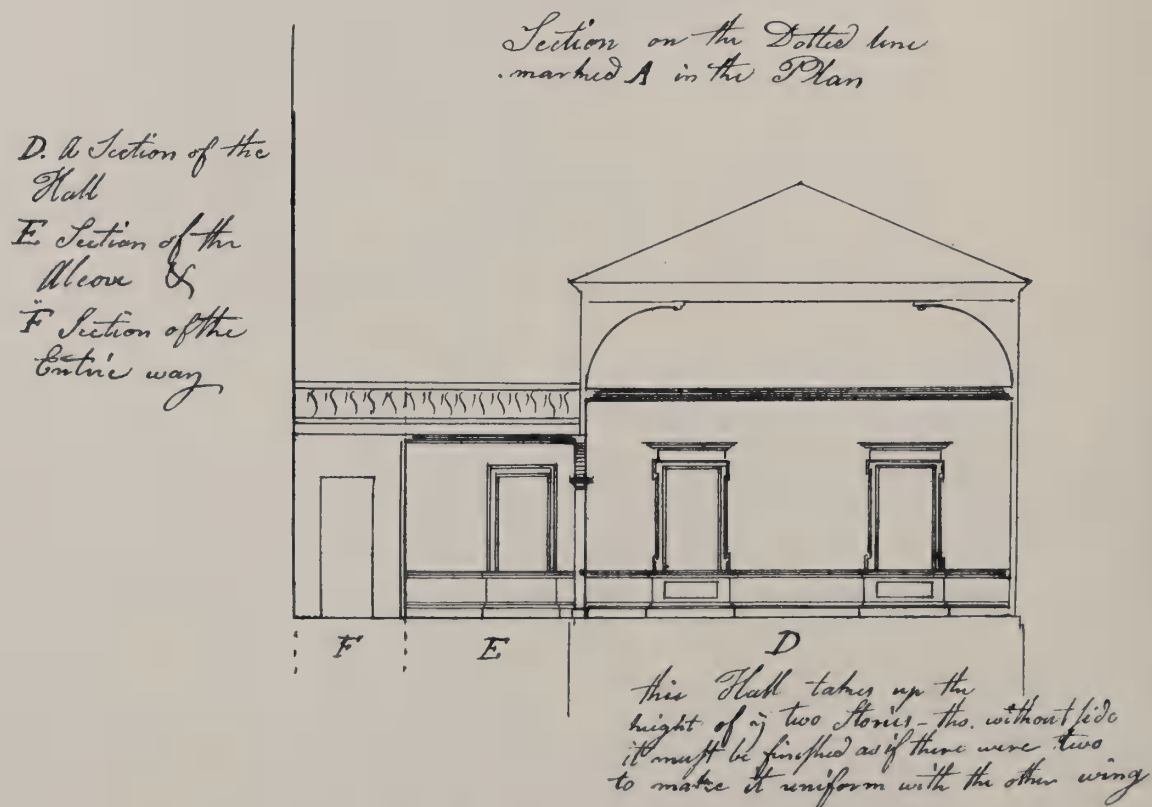


Figure 94. Lyman House. Study of section of east wing.

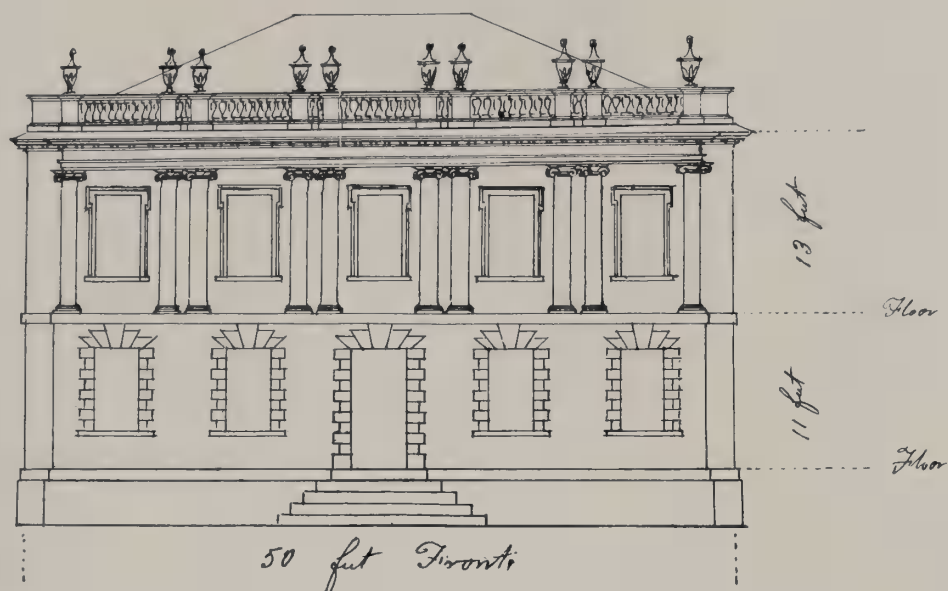


Figure 95. Lyman House. Elevation of south front.

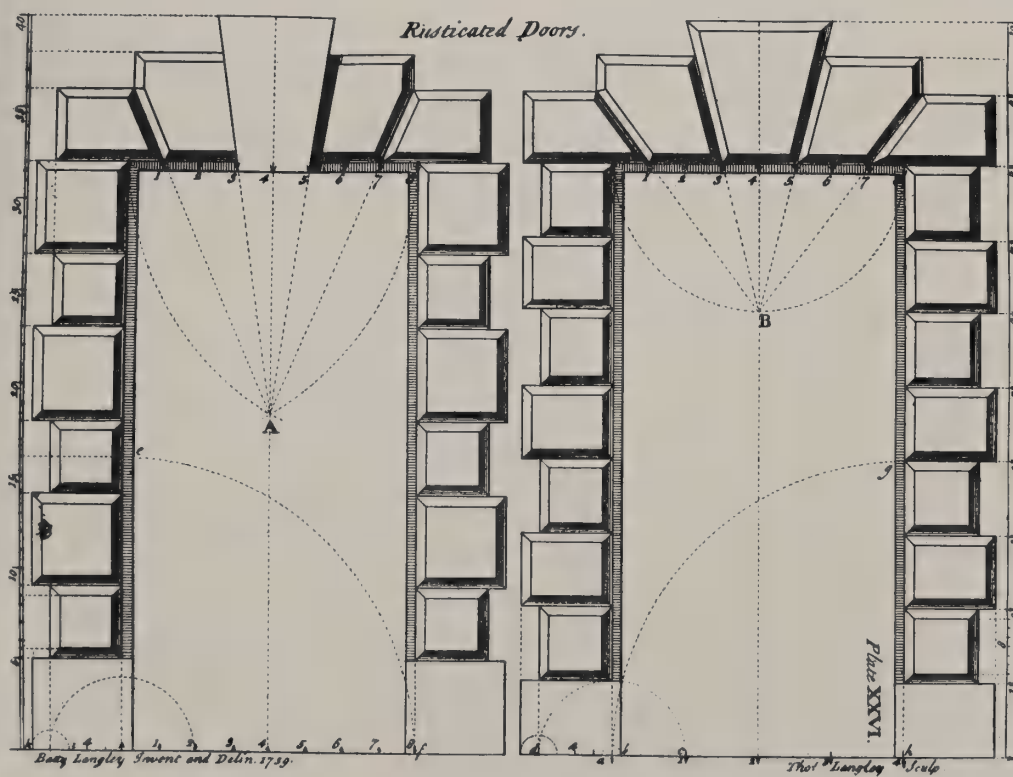


Figure 96. Prototype of the windows of the Lyman House.

From Langley's *Treasury of Designs*, 1745.



Figure 97. Lyman House. South front. Photograph before 1880.



Figure 98. Lyman House, from the northeast. Photograph before 1880.

SURVEY SECOND FLOOR LYMAN HOUSE WALTHAM, MASS.
 AS IT WAS BEFORE CHANGES
 BY
 HARTWELL RICHARDSON & DRIVER ARCHTS
 $\frac{1}{8}$ INCH TO 1 FOOT



SURVEY OF FIRST FLOOR LYMAN HOUSE WALTHAM, MASS.
 AS IT WAS BEFORE CHANGES
 BY
 HARTWELL RICHARDSON & DRIVER ARCHTS
 $\frac{1}{8}$ INCH TO 1 FOOT



Figures 99 and 100. Lyman House. Plans before alterations.
 Courtesy of Messrs. Hartwell and Richardson & Driver.



Figure 101. Lyman House. Library.



Figure 102. Lyman House. Library.



Figure 103. Lyman House. East parlor.



Figure 104. Lyman House. Dining-room.



Figure 105. Lyman House. Bow parlor.



Figure 106. Lyman House. Dining-room.



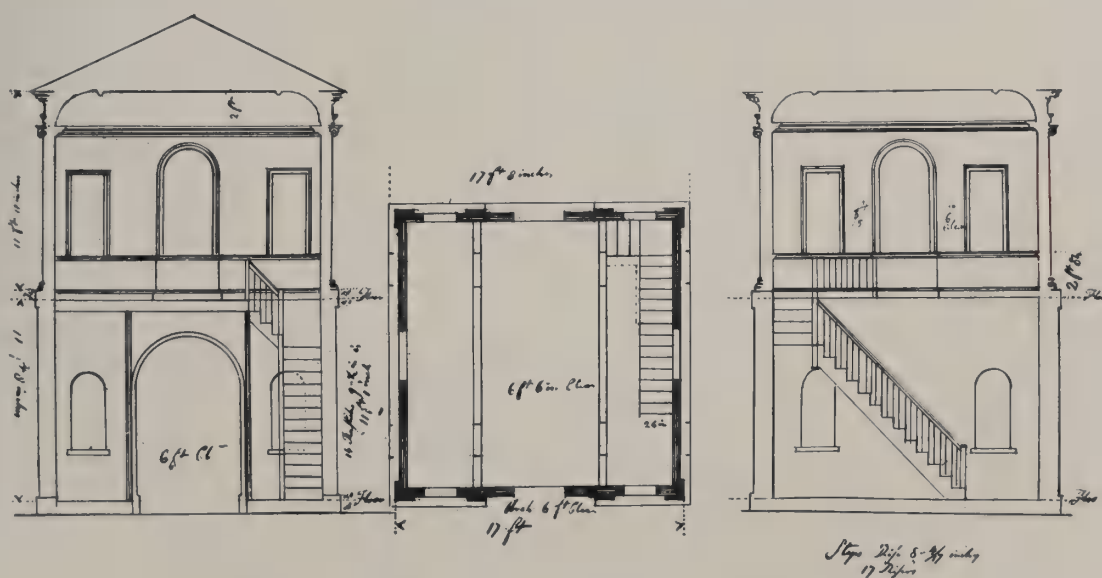
Figure 107. Lyman House. Bow parlor.



Figure 108. Lyman House. Summer-house.



Figure 109. Lyman House. Stable.



Figures 110 and 111. Derby Summer-house, Peabody, 1793.



Figure 112. Summer-house at the Derby Mansion, 1798 ?



Figure 113. Study for a summer-house.



Figure 114. Preliminary study for the elevation of the Derby Mansion, 1795, by Charles Bulfinch.

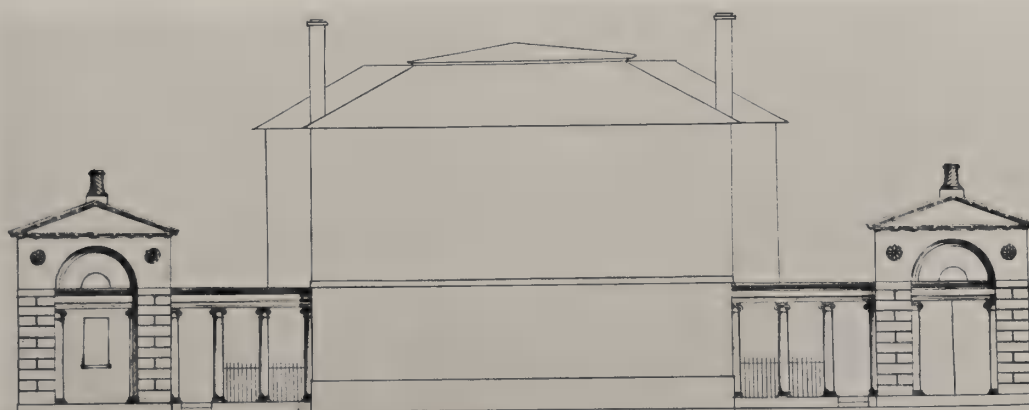


Figure 115. Preliminary study for the Derby Mansion, showing the outbuildings, by Charles Bulfinch.

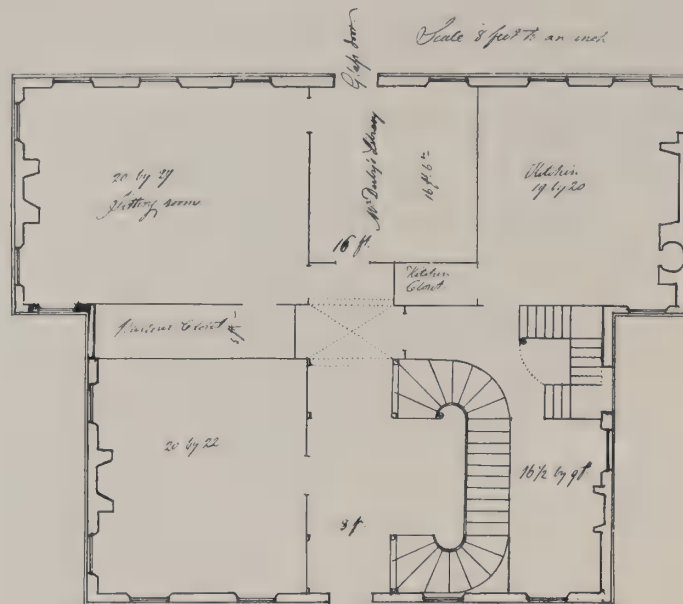


Figure 116. Preliminary study for the plan of the Derby Mansion by Charles Bulfinch.



Figure 117. Preliminary study for the Derby Mansion, in perspective, by Charles Bulfinch.



Figure 118. General Wade's House in London, 1723.
 From the engraving in the *Vitruvius Britannicus*, 1725.



Figure 119. The Provost's House in Dublin.
 From a print by James Malton, 1794.

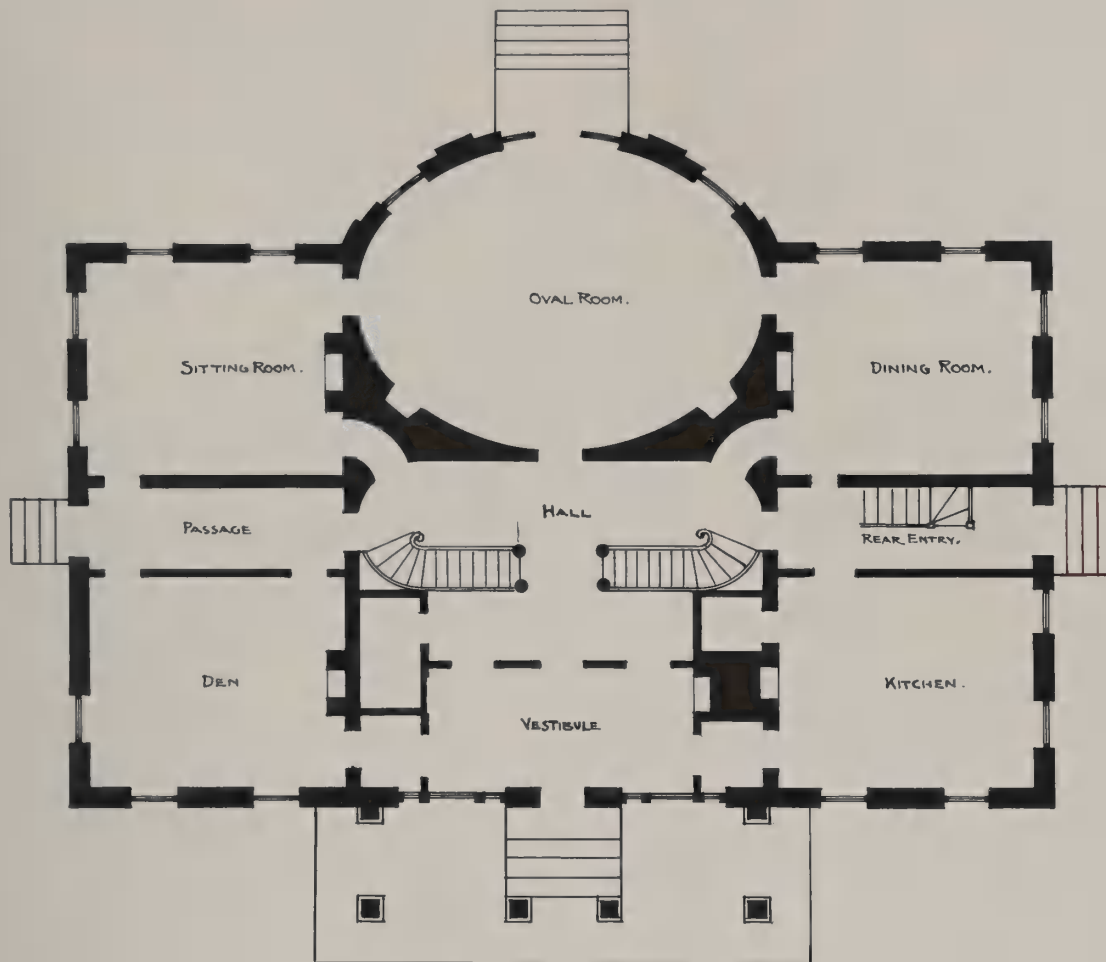


Figure 122. Plan of the Barrell House, Charlestown, Massachusetts.
 Charles Bulfinch, Architect, 1792.
 From a drawing by Ogden Codman.

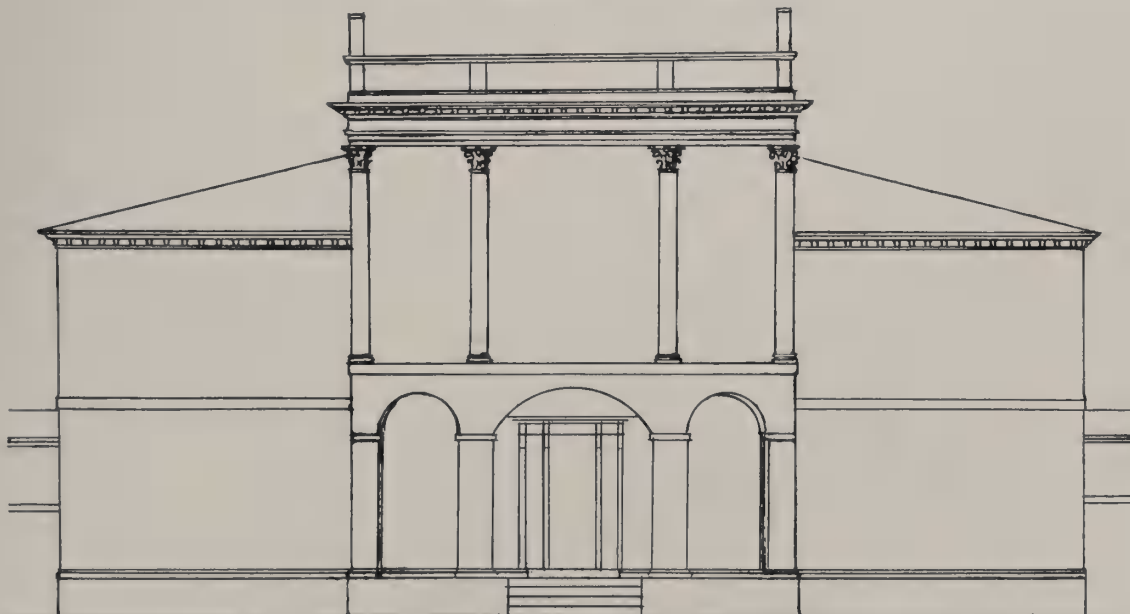


Figure 123. Elevation of the Barrell House, Charlestown, by Charles Bulfinch, 1792.
 From the original drawing in the possession of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.



Figure 124. Elevation of "Colonel Smith's House." Unidentified authorship.

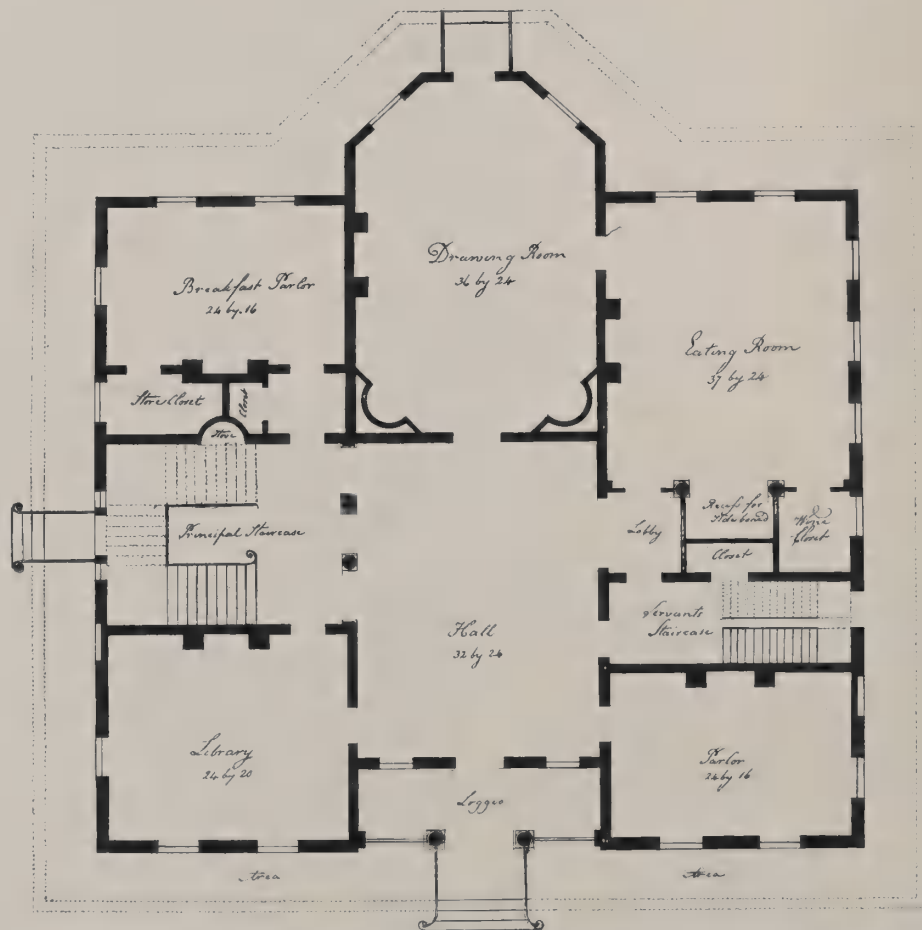
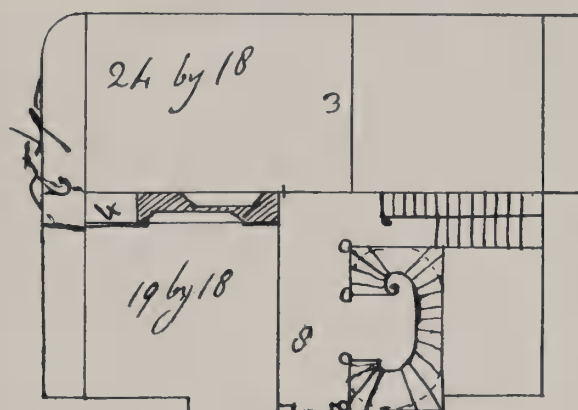


Figure 125. Plan of "Colonel Smith's House." Unidentified authorship.



Figures 126 and 127. Plans of "Colonel Smith's House." Unidentified authorship.



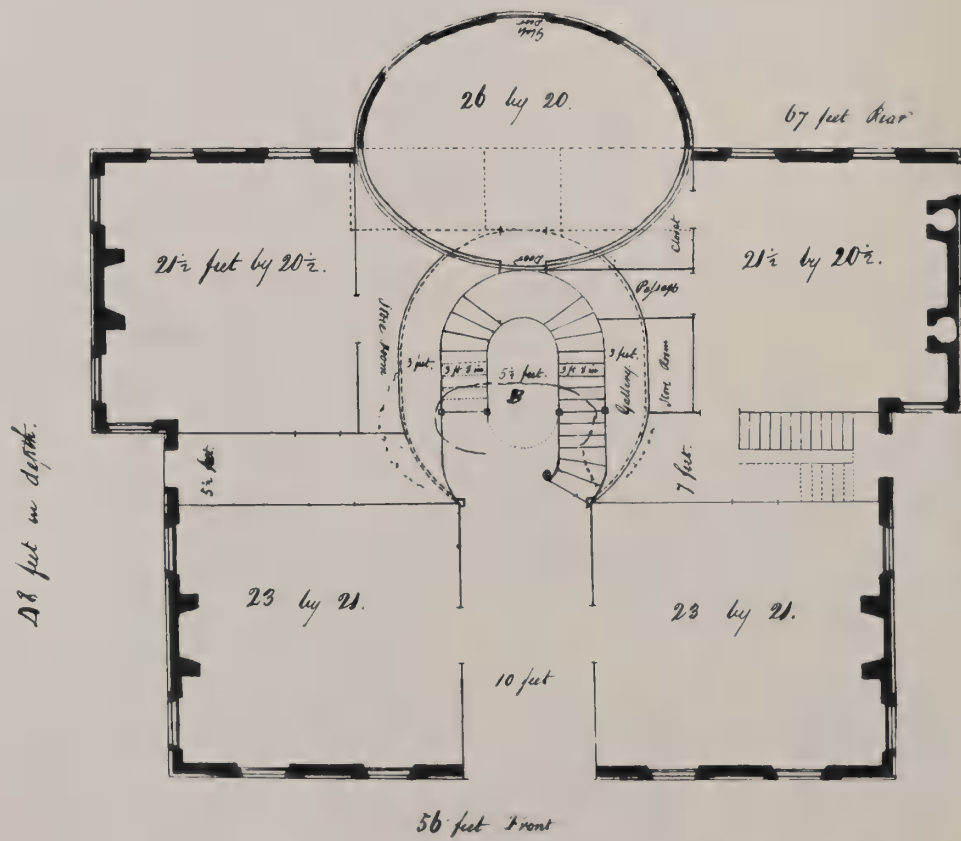
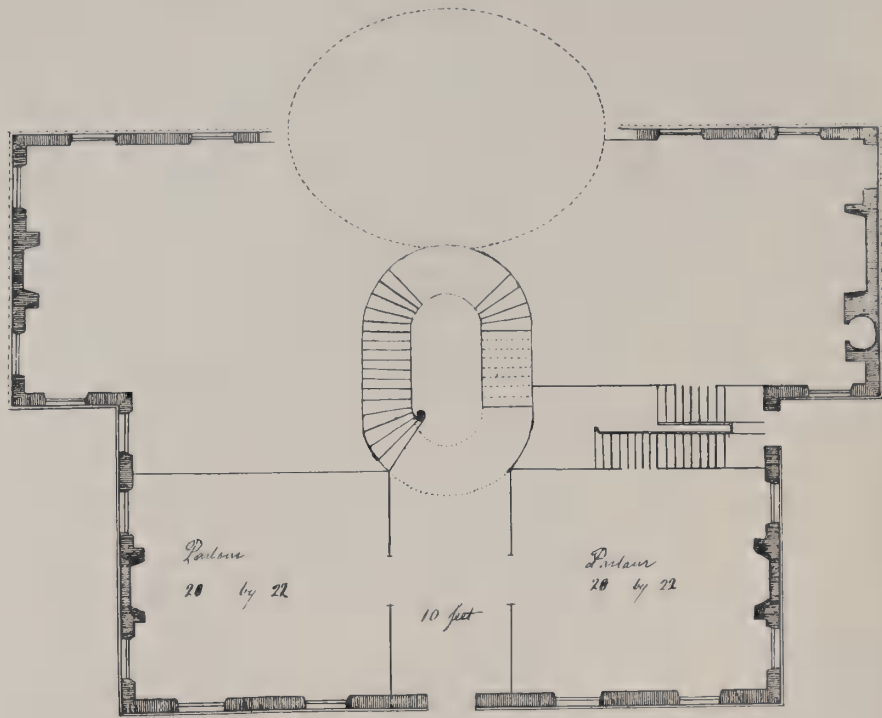
one 20th of an inch -
to a foot.

50

Figure 130. McIntire's first study for the Derby Mansion.



Figure 131. Study for the elevation of the Derby Mansion. Unidentified authorship.

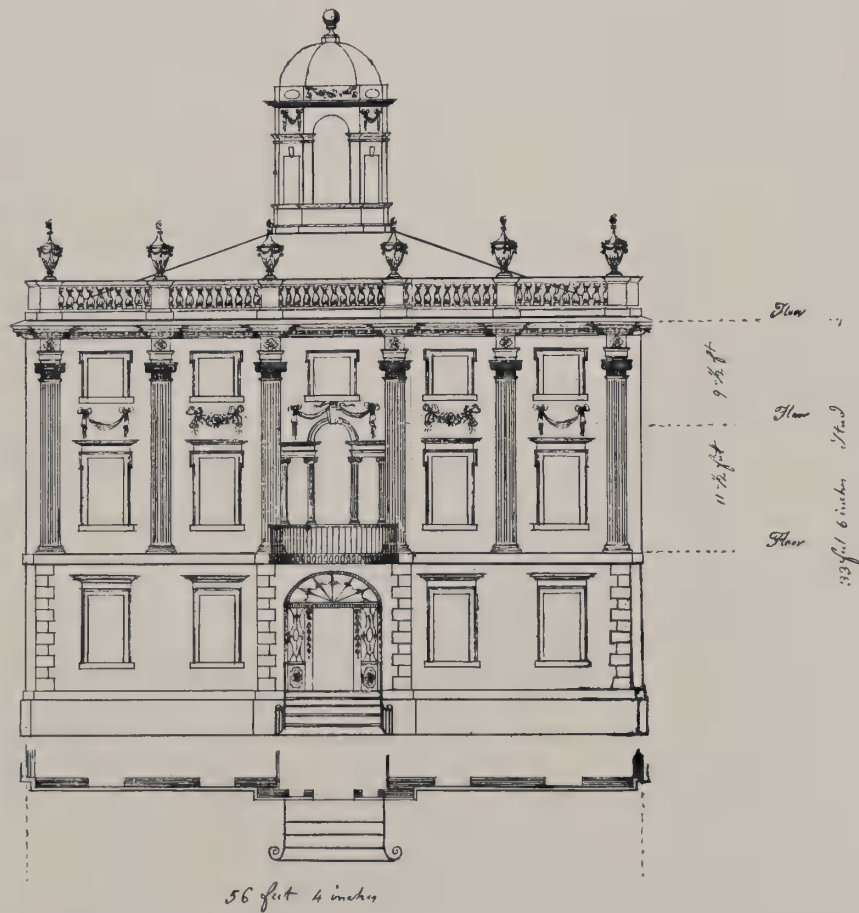


Figures 132 and 133. Studies adopted for the plan of the Derby Mansion.
Unidentified authorship.



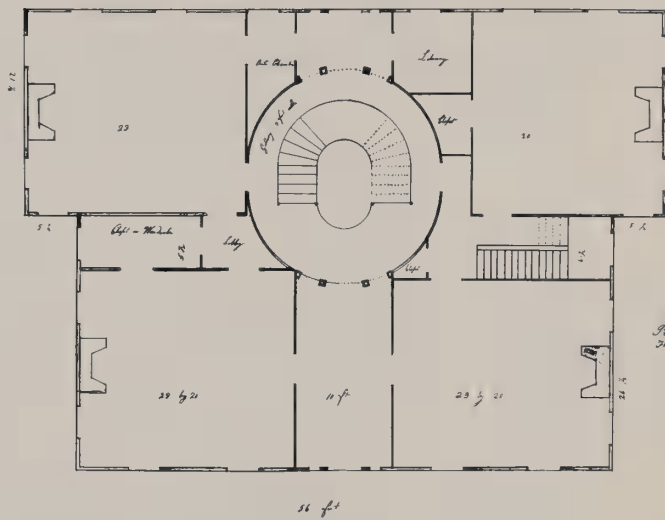
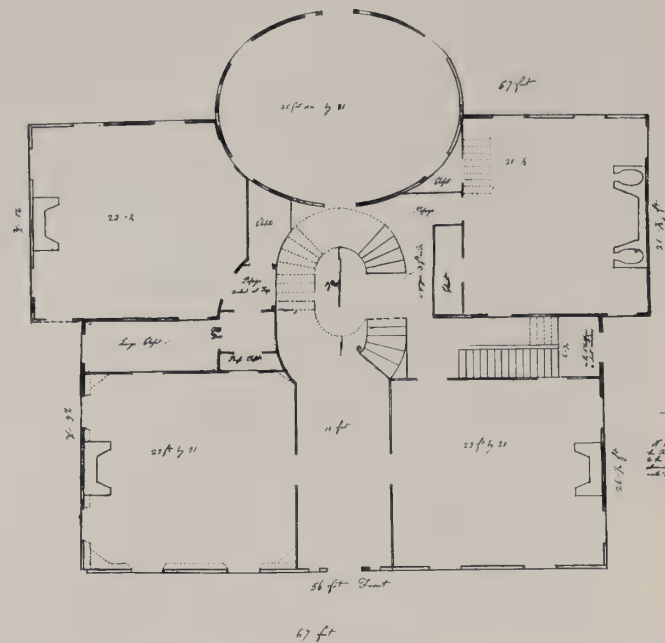
Front 56 feet 4 inches

Figure 134. Study for the Derby Mansion dated July 21, 1795.



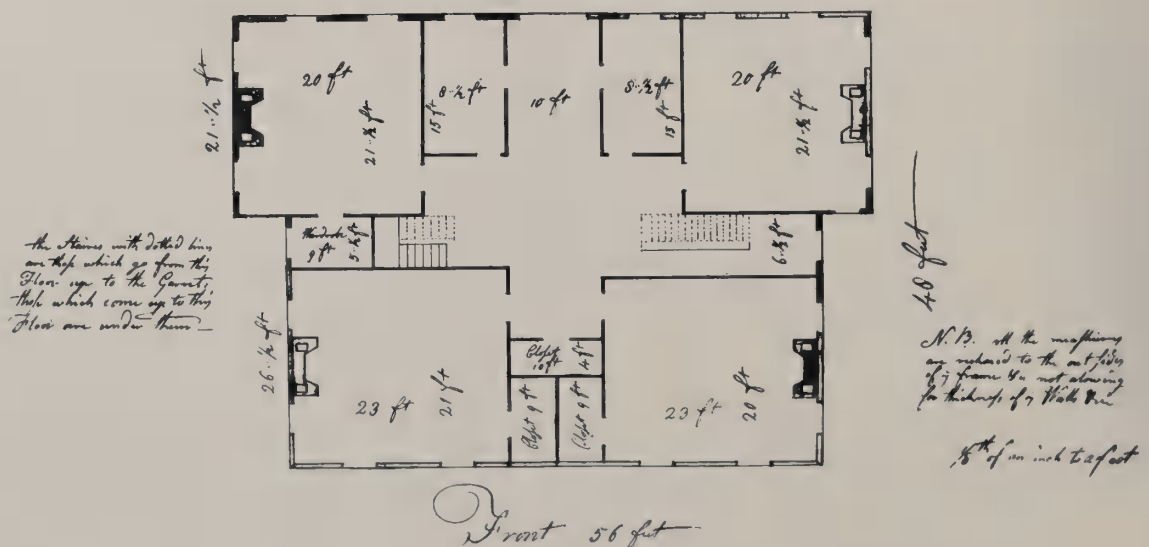
56 feet 4 inches

Figure 135. Study for the elevation of the Derby Mansion.



Plan of the 3^d Floor of Mr. Derby's House

67 feet Deep



Figures 136-138. Working plans of the Derby Mansion.

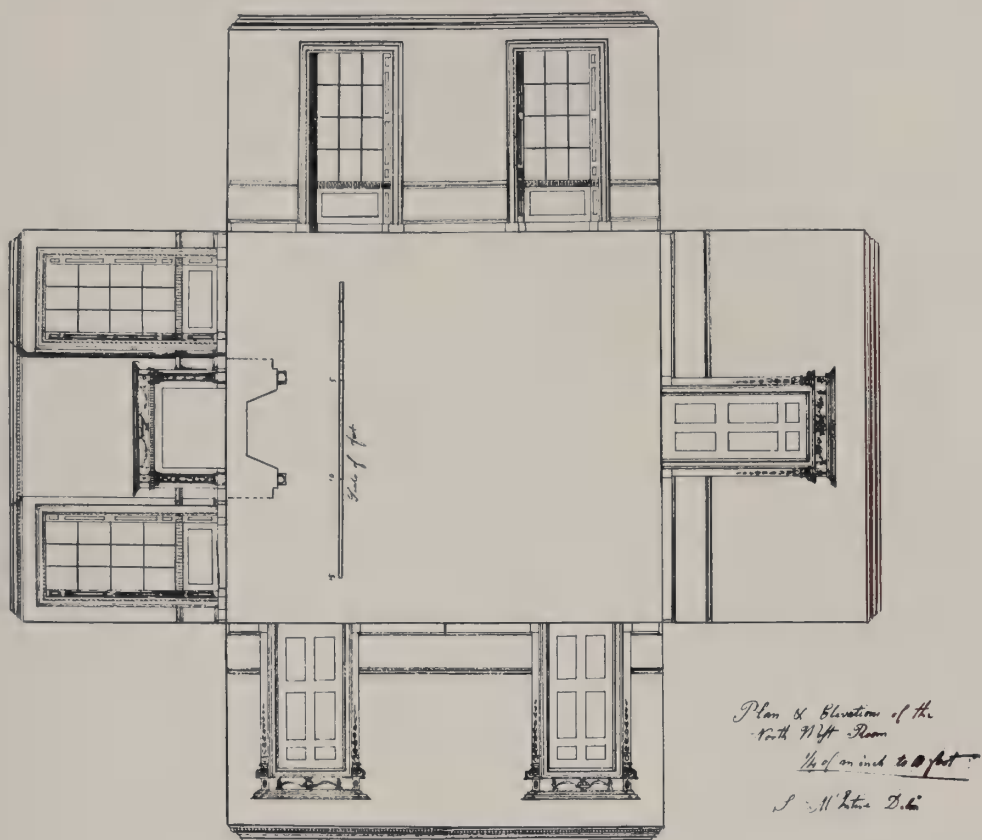


Figure 139. Derby Mansion. Design for the northwest room.

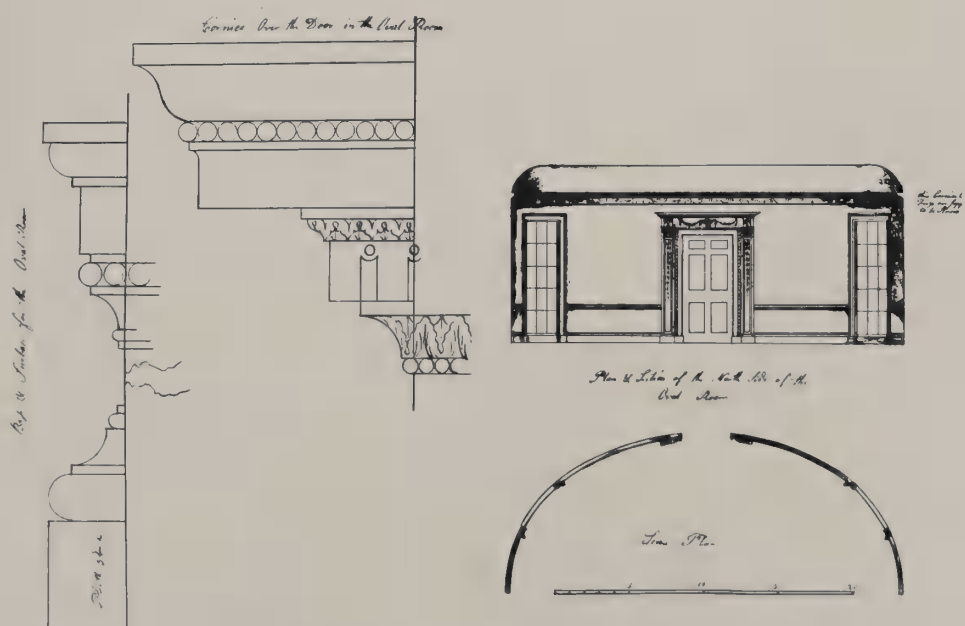


Figure 140. Derby Mansion. Design for the oval room.

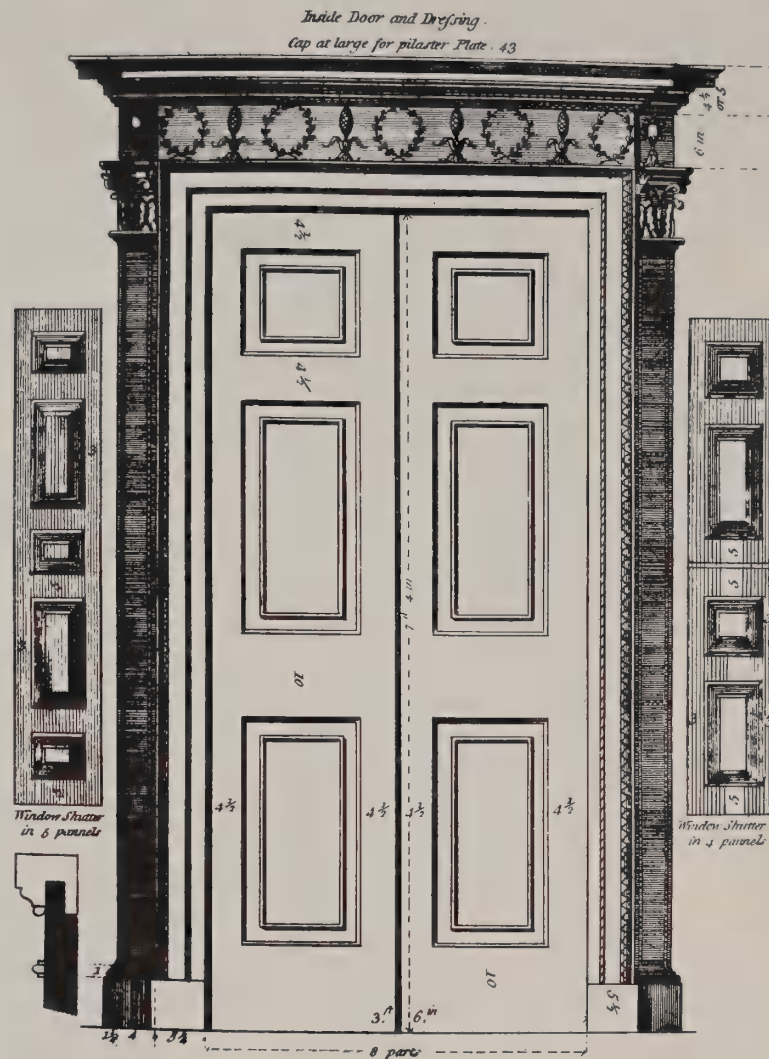


Figure 141. Prototype of Derby Mansion. Doorway.
From Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*.



Figure 142. Mantelpiece.
From Pain's *British Palladio*.

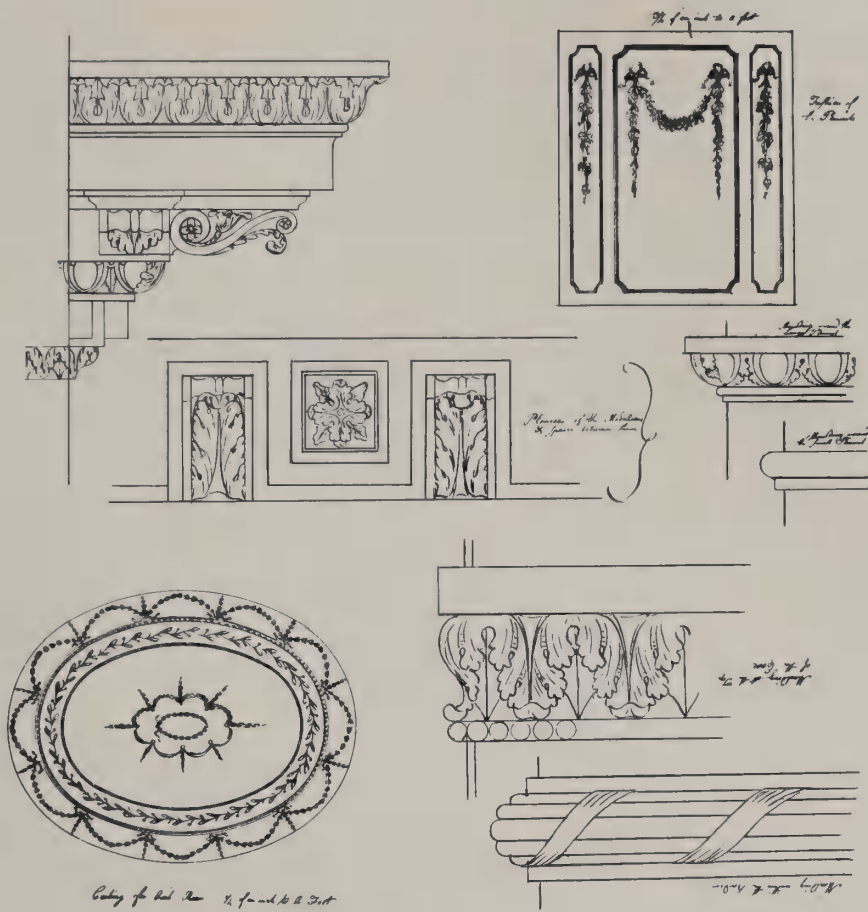
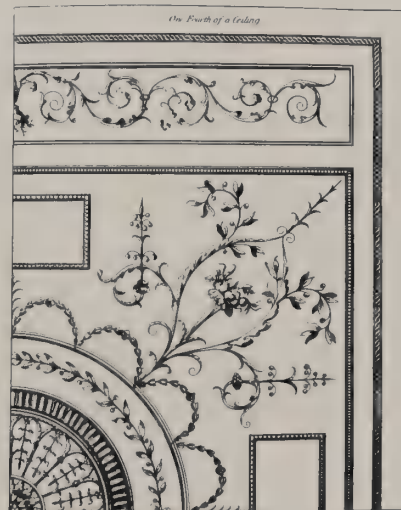


Figure 143. Derby Mansion. Details of the oval room.



Figures 144 and 145. Ceilings.
From Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*.

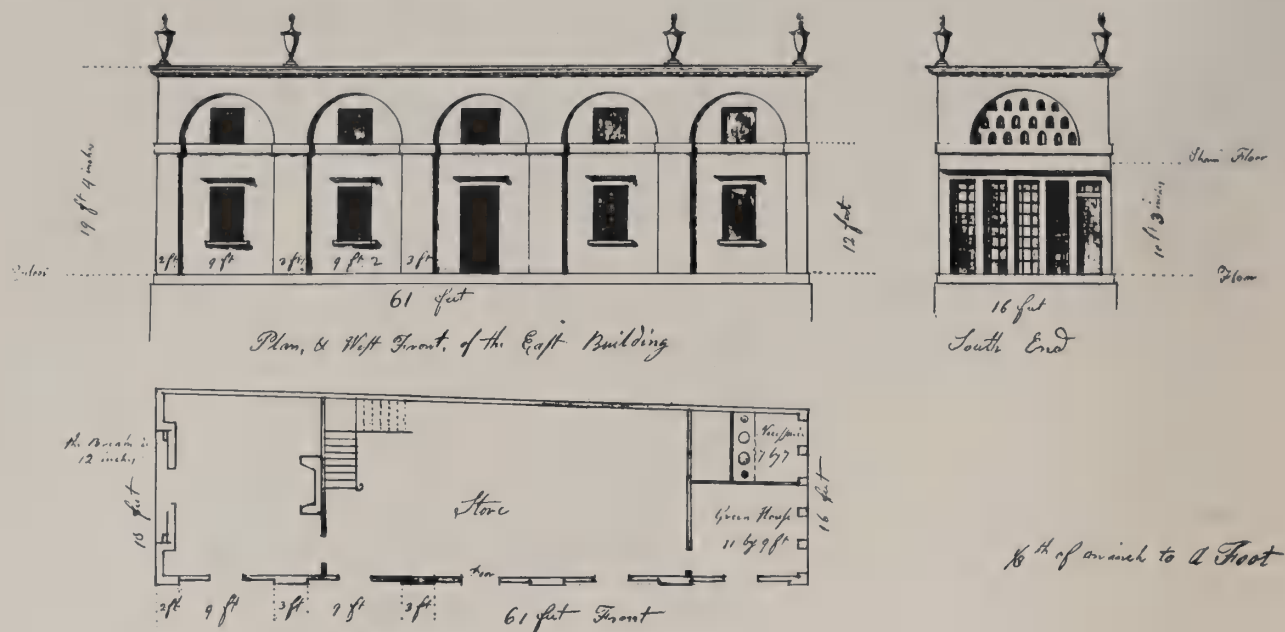


Figure 146. Derby Mansion. Design for the eastern outbuilding.

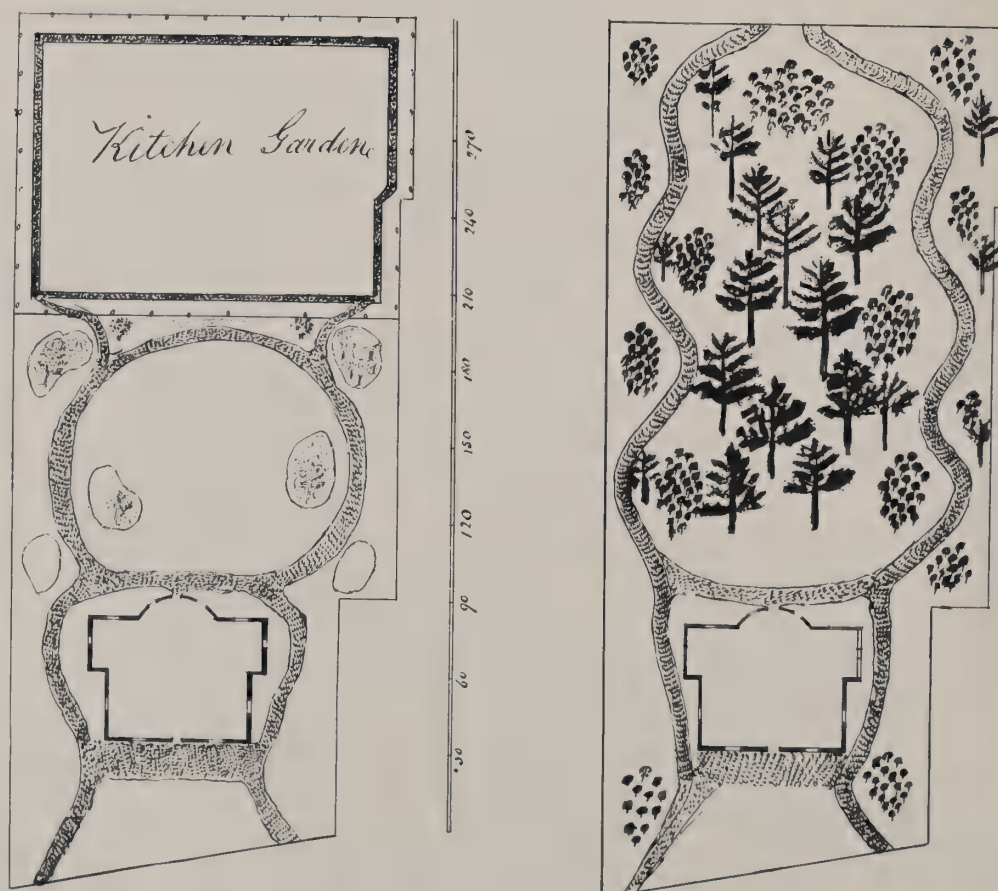


Figure 147. Suggested designs for the Derby garden. Unidentified authorship.

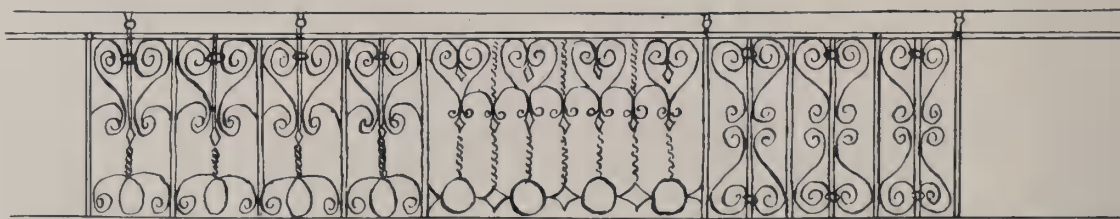




Figure 150. Derby Mansion. Cornice from the northeast chamber. Essex Institute.



Figure 151. Mantel from the Derby Mansion as formerly installed at 11 Linden Street, Salem. The basket is a later replacement.



A True Copy AM. Cha. Lushington

Figure 152. Derby Mansion. Drawing of ironwork executed by Ebenezer Leman.



Figure 153. William Orne House, 93 Washington Street, 1795. Destroyed 1862.



Figure 154. Urn from the fence of the William Orne House.

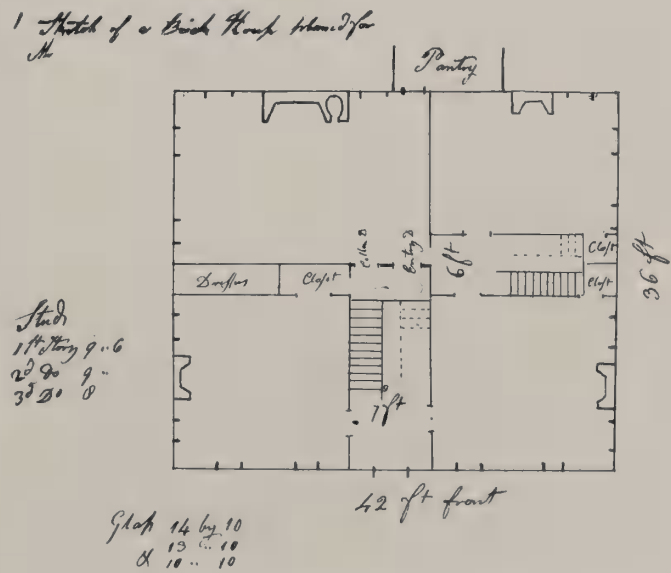


Figure 155. Unidentified house, about 1795.



Figure 156. Fence and stable for Joseph Sprague, 376 Essex Street, about 1795 ?



Figure 157. Fence and gates from the Joseph Sprague House, with modern urns.
Now at Glen Magna Farm, Danvers.



Figure 158. Assembly House, 138 Federal Street, as remodelled about 1796.



Figure 159. Assembly House.



Figure 160. Assembly House. Parlor.



Figures 161 and 161a. Assembly House. Stairway.

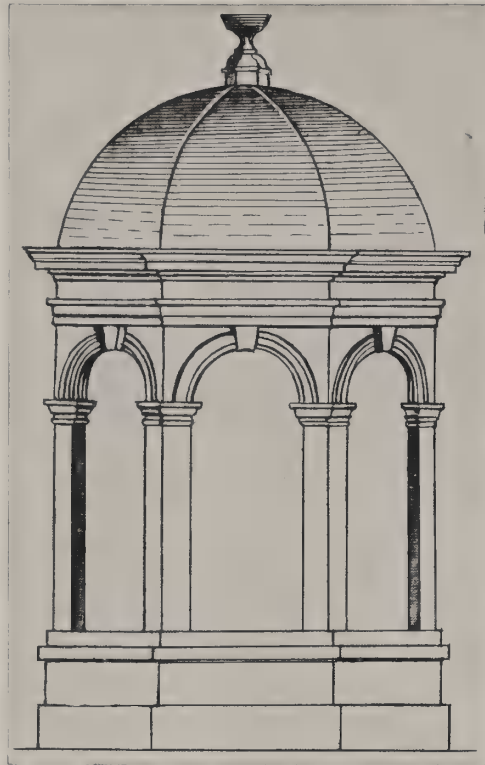
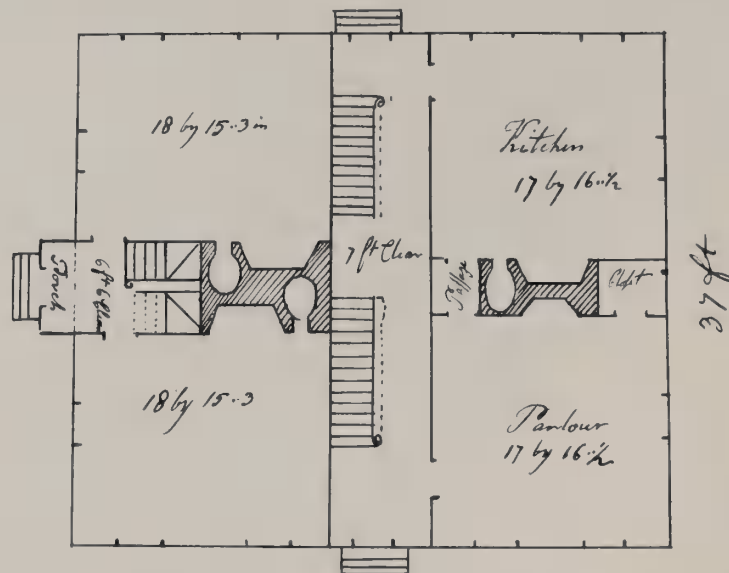


Figure 162. Belfry of the North Church, Lynde and North Streets, 1796.
Demolished 1835.



Figure 163. North Church. Old view.

N.B. the size of the Rooms as marked with figures, is taken to the outside of the Frames of the Building; not allowing for thickness of Walls, &c; which will make each Room about $\frac{1}{2}$ a foot smaller than marked -
North side

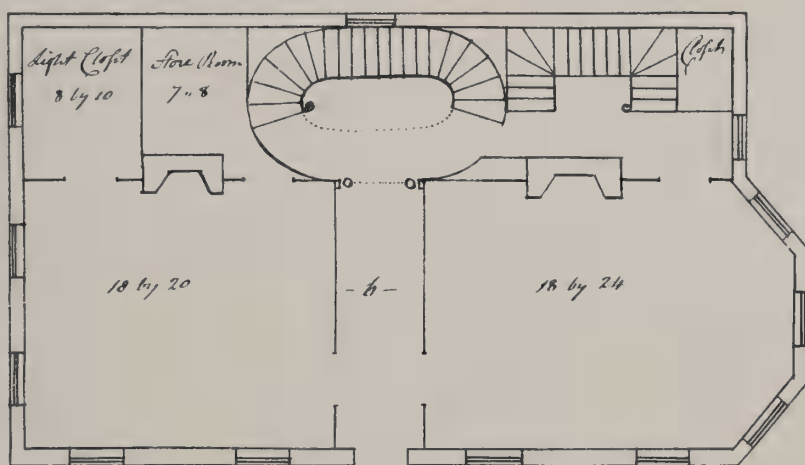
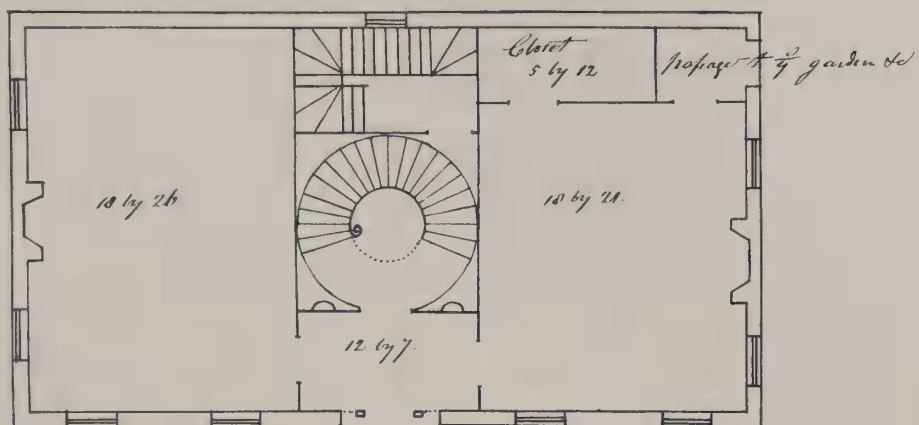


South Front 42 ft 1/8 ft. of an inch to 0.8 foot

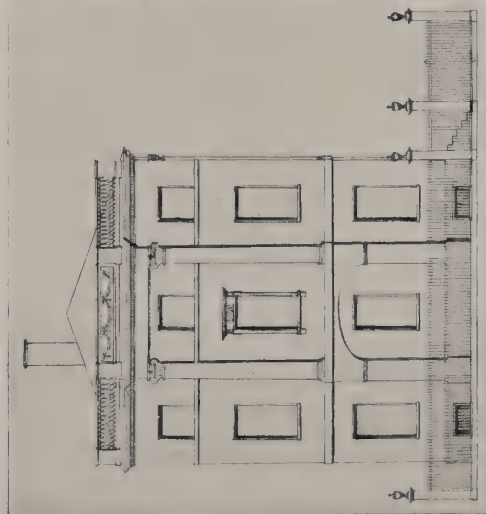
Figures 164. Plan for a house for Nathan Read. Danversport, about 1796.



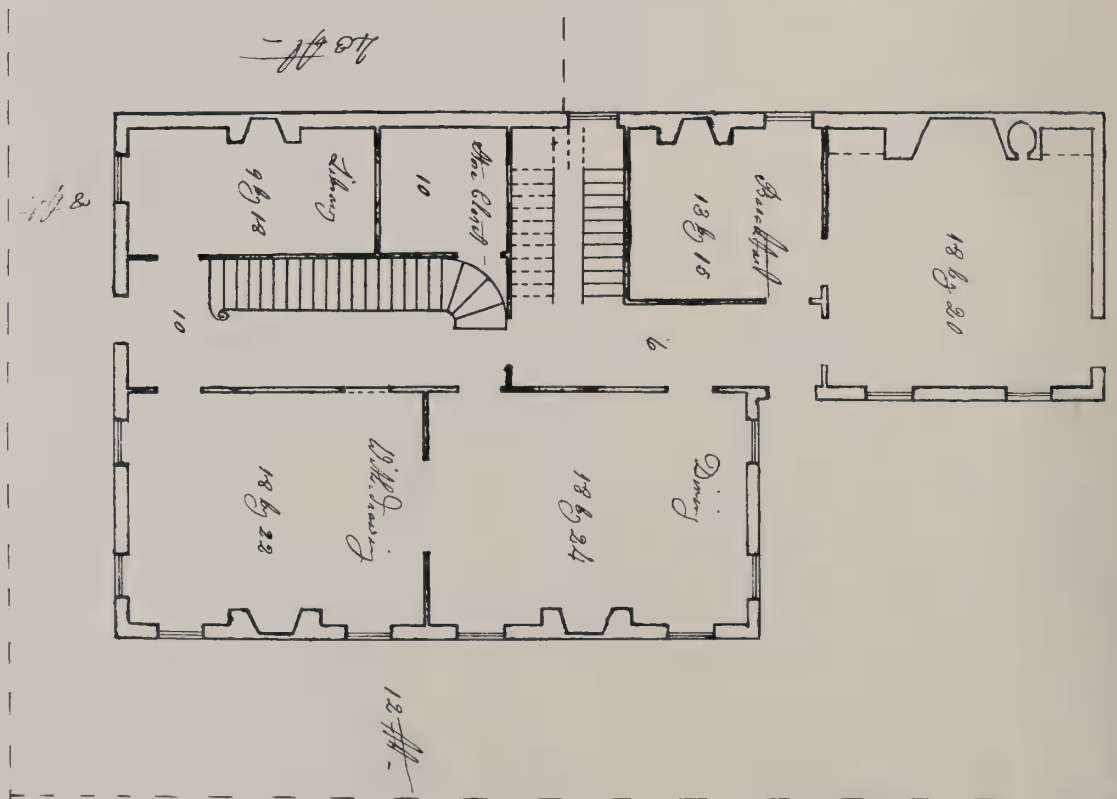
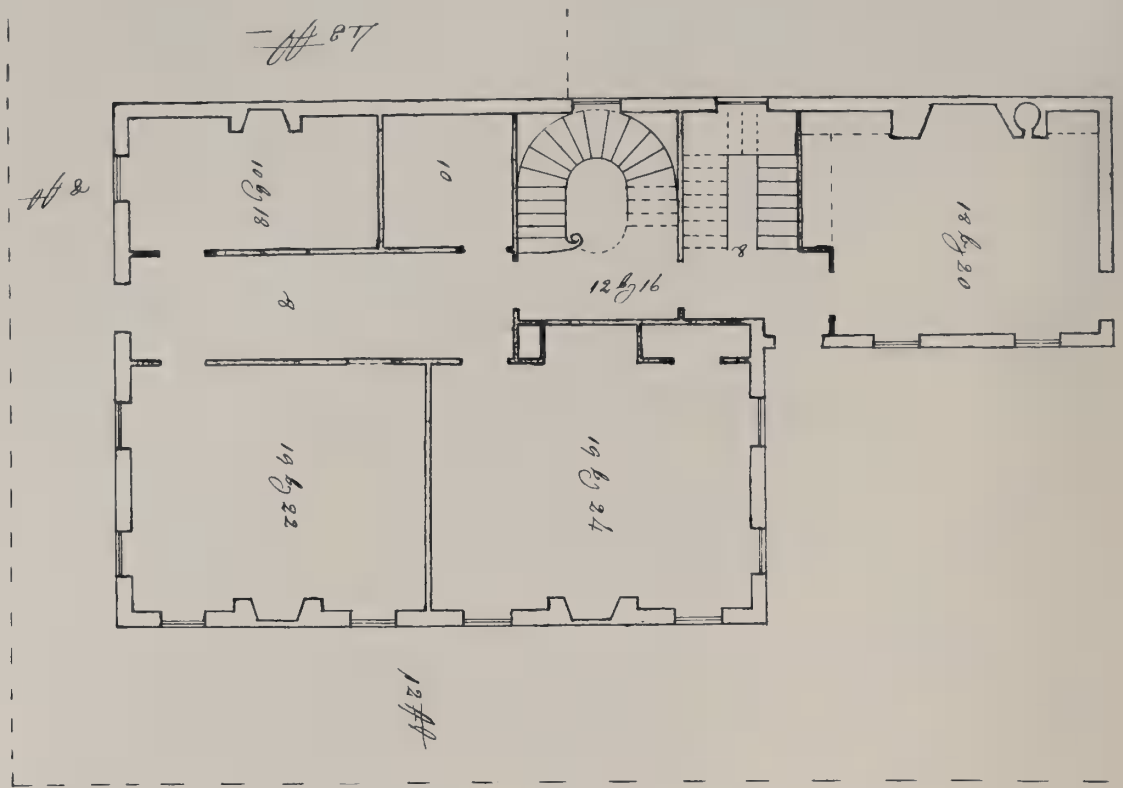
Figure 165. Nathan Read House, Danversport.



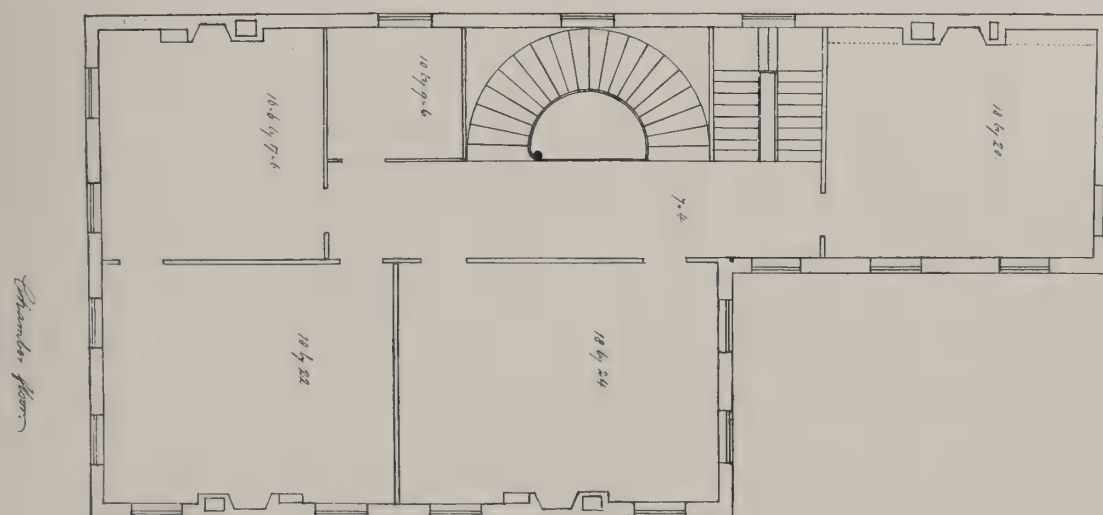
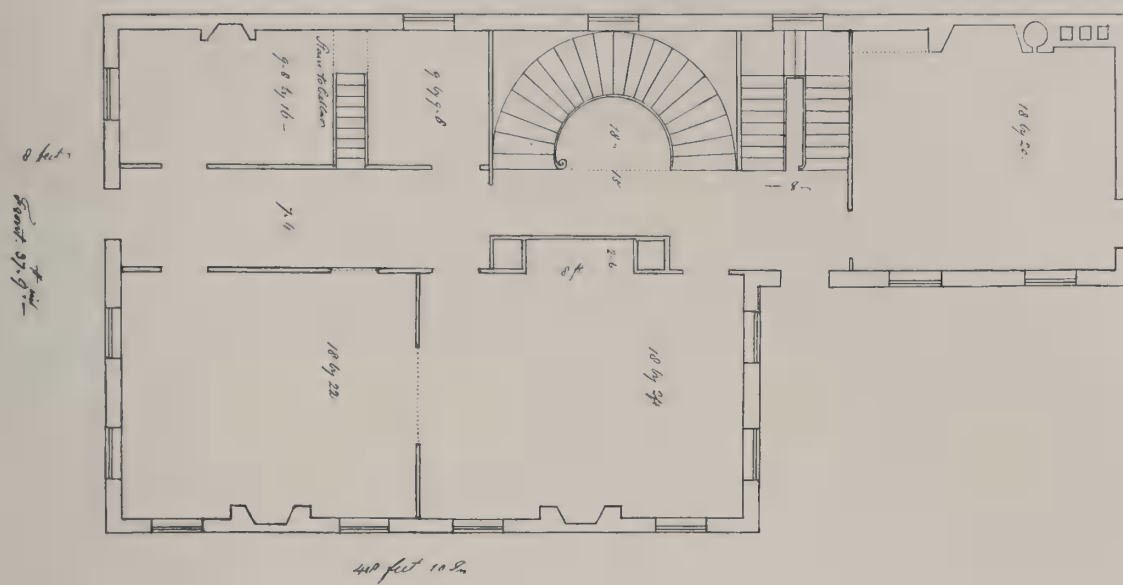
Figures 166 and 167. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House, 204-206 Essex Street, about 1800.
Early studies by Charles Bulfinch.



Figures 170 and 171. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Studies by Charles Bulfinch.



Figures 172 and 173. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Unidentified authorship.



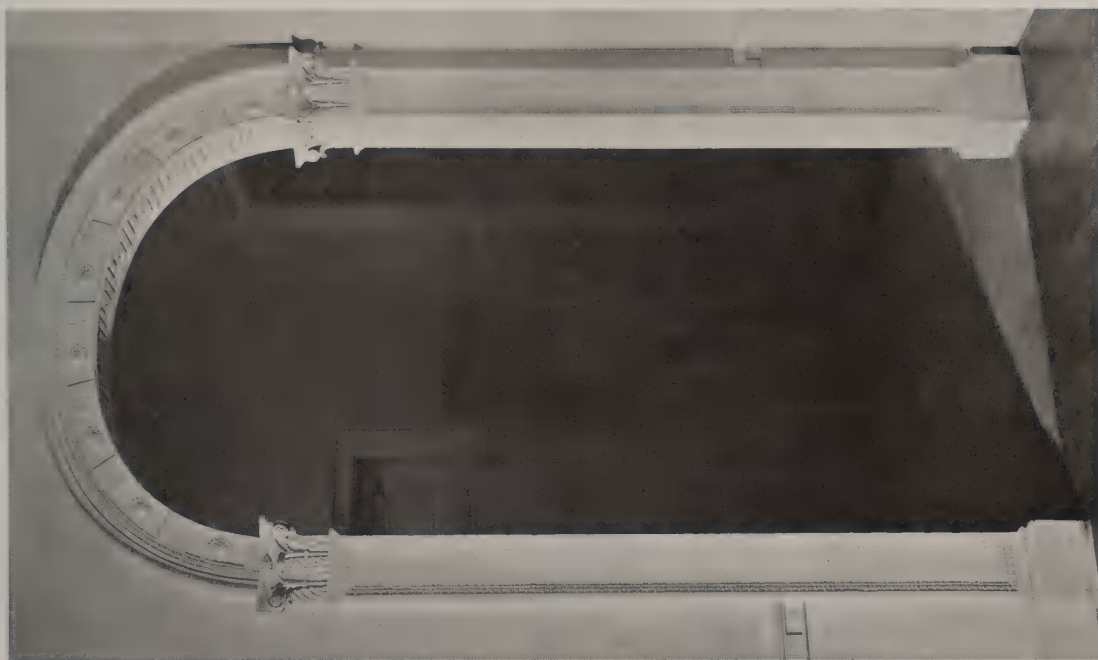
Figures 174 and 175. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Working drawings by Charles Bulfinch.



Figure 176. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Final elevation by Charles Bulfinch.



Figure 177. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Photograph of 1876.



Figures 178 and 179. Elements from the Ezekiel Hersey Derby House as installed in the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Gift of George Horace Lorimer.



Figure 180. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Stair.



Figure 181. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Hall arches.



Figures 182 and 183. Ezekiel Hersey Derby House. Mantels of third floor.



Figure 187. Oak Hill. Front portico, after 1808. The urns and the
panelled door are from the later nineteenth century.



Figure 188. Oak Hill. Cap for front windows with motives of eagle and
"dish of fruit" carved and billed by Samuel Field McIntire, 1813.

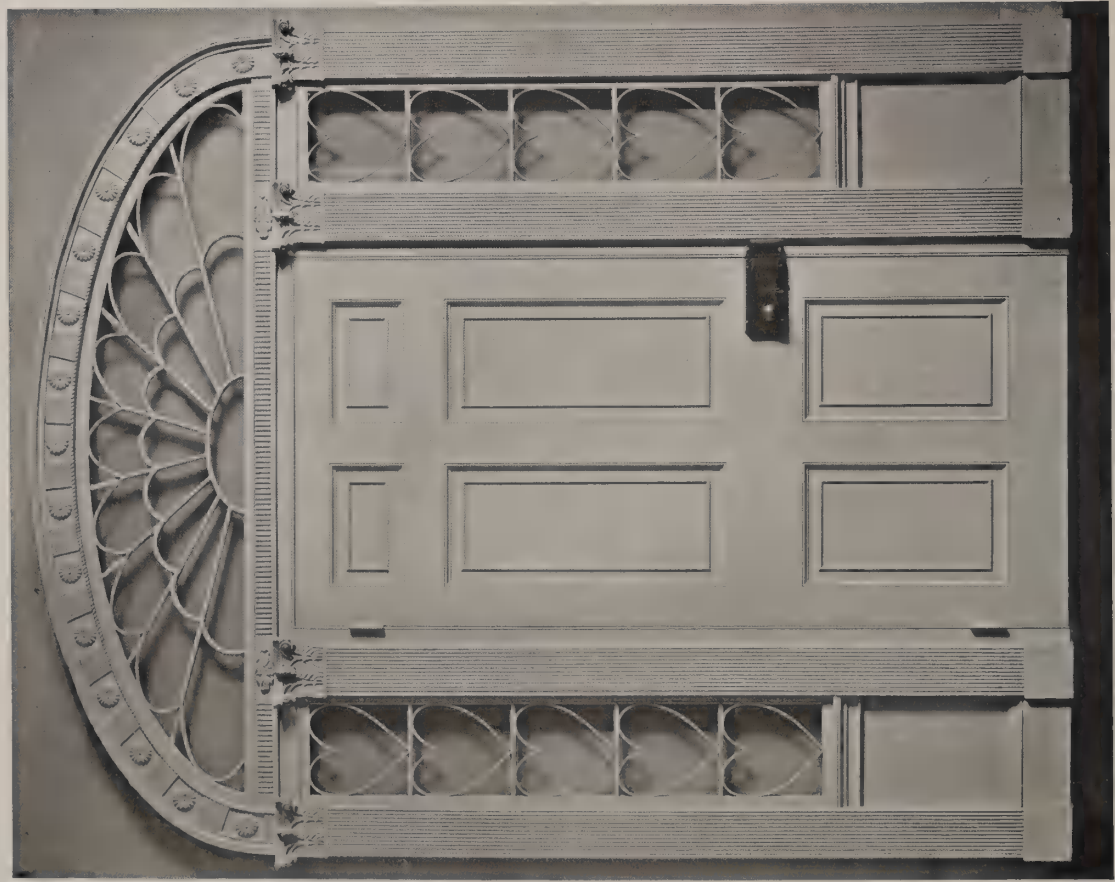


Figure 189. Oak Hill. Inside casing of front doorway. The panelled door is a modern replacement.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 190. Oak Hill. Doorway in lower hall.
 Doorcap by Samuel Field McIntire, 1813.



Figure 191. Oak Hill. Parlor.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 192. Oak Hill. Parlor mantel.



Figure 193. Oak Hill. Dining-room.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 194. Oak Hill. Parlor chamber.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 195. Oak Hill. Parlor doorway.



Figure 196. Oak Hill. Door of parlor chamber.



Figure 197. Oak Hill. Door of parlor chamber.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



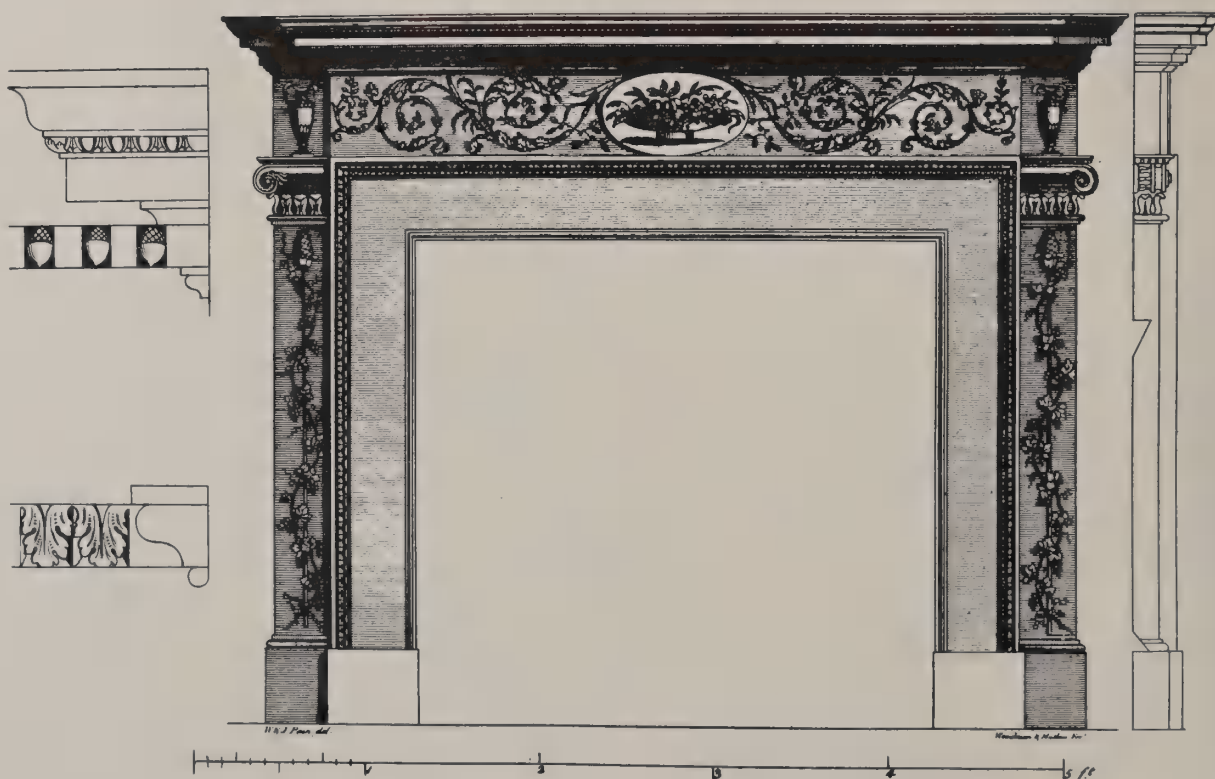
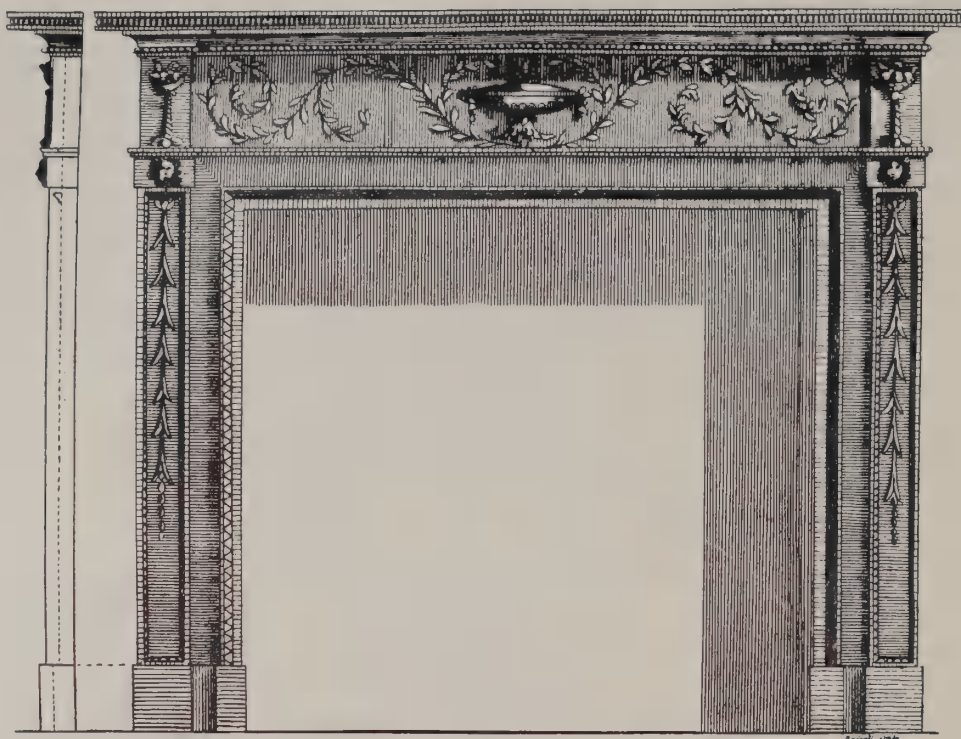
Figure 198. Oak Hill. Dining-room chimney piece.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 199. Oak Hill. Dining-room doorway. Detail.
Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 200. Chimneypiece from Oak Hill, afterwards at The Lindens, Danvers, by Samuel Field McIntire, who billed the "pr. Pilester Drops and Blocking Grape and Horns plenty" in 1813.



Figures 201 and 202. Prototypes of elements at Oak Hill.
From W. and J. Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*.



Figure 203. Benjamin Pickman House, 165 Essex Street, 1750.
From an old lithograph. *J. F. C. del. Pendleton's Litho.*



Figure 204. Pickman House. Parlor, as remodelled about 1800.
From Arthur Little's *Early American Interiors*, 1877.



Figure 205. Arch from the Pickman House as installed at the Essex Institute.

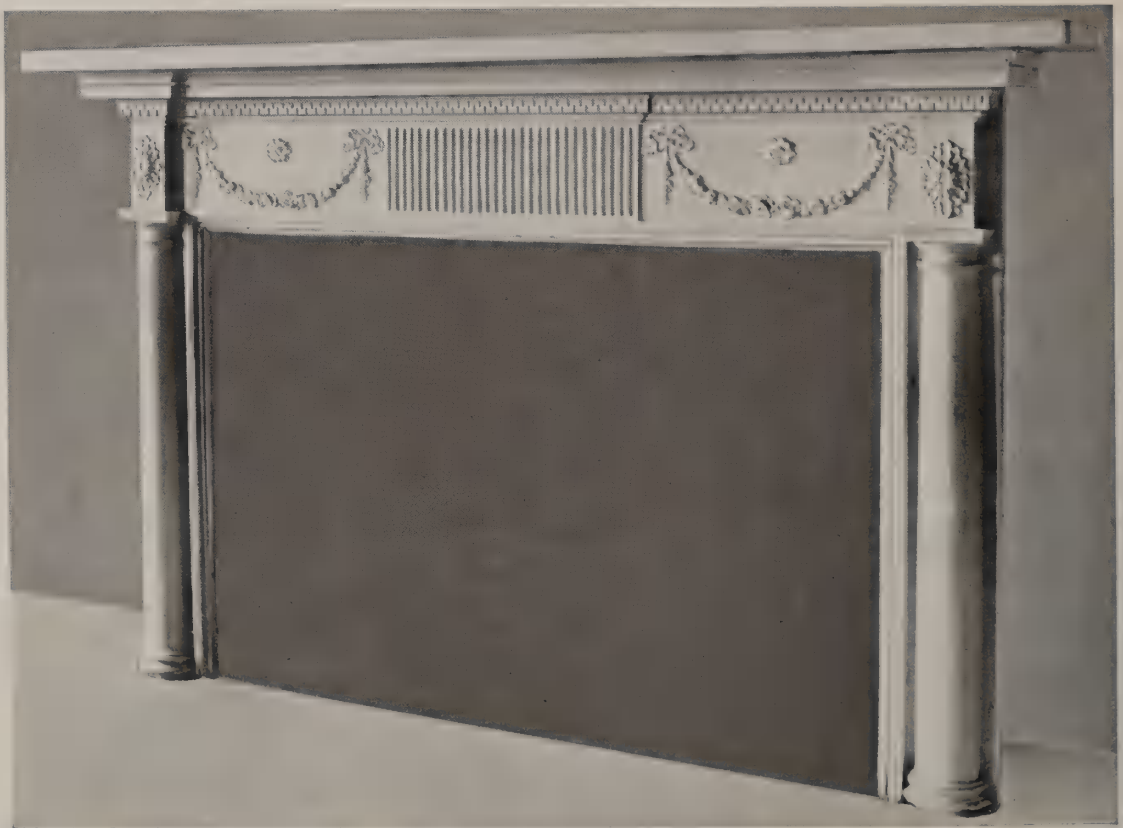


Figure 206. Pickman House. Mantel now installed in the dining-room of the John Gardner House.



Figure 207. Pickman House. Doorhead preserved by the Essex Institute.



Figure 208. Pickman House. Side porch.



Figure 209. Derby House, 286 Lafayette Street, South Salem. Photograph of 1891.



Figure 210. Barn of the Derby House, South Salem. Photograph of 1891.



Figure 211. Derby House, South Salem. Mantel.



Figure 212. Derby House, South Salem.
Urn preserved by the Essex Institute.

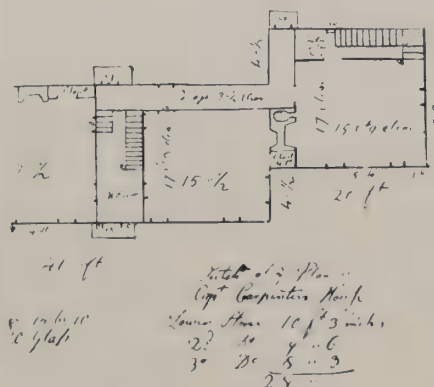


Figure 213. Benjamin Carpenter House,
135 Federal Street, 1801.



Figure 214. West Gate of Salem Common, Washington Square. Daguerreotype before 1850.



Figure 215. West Gate of Salem Common. Woodcut of 1839.



Figure 216. A Gate of Salem Common. Detail of a painting by George Ropes, 1808.



Figures 217 and 218. Reliefs from Common Gates preserved by Essex Institute.

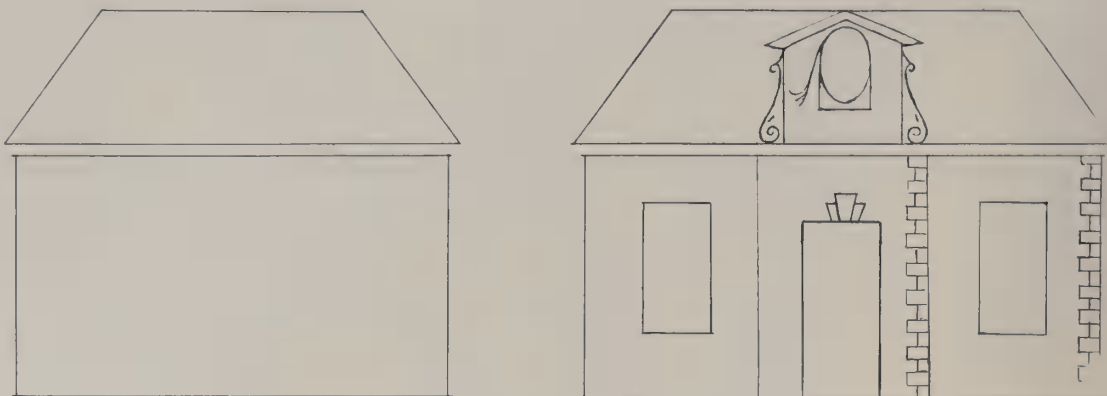


Figure 219. Unidentified building, about 1802.

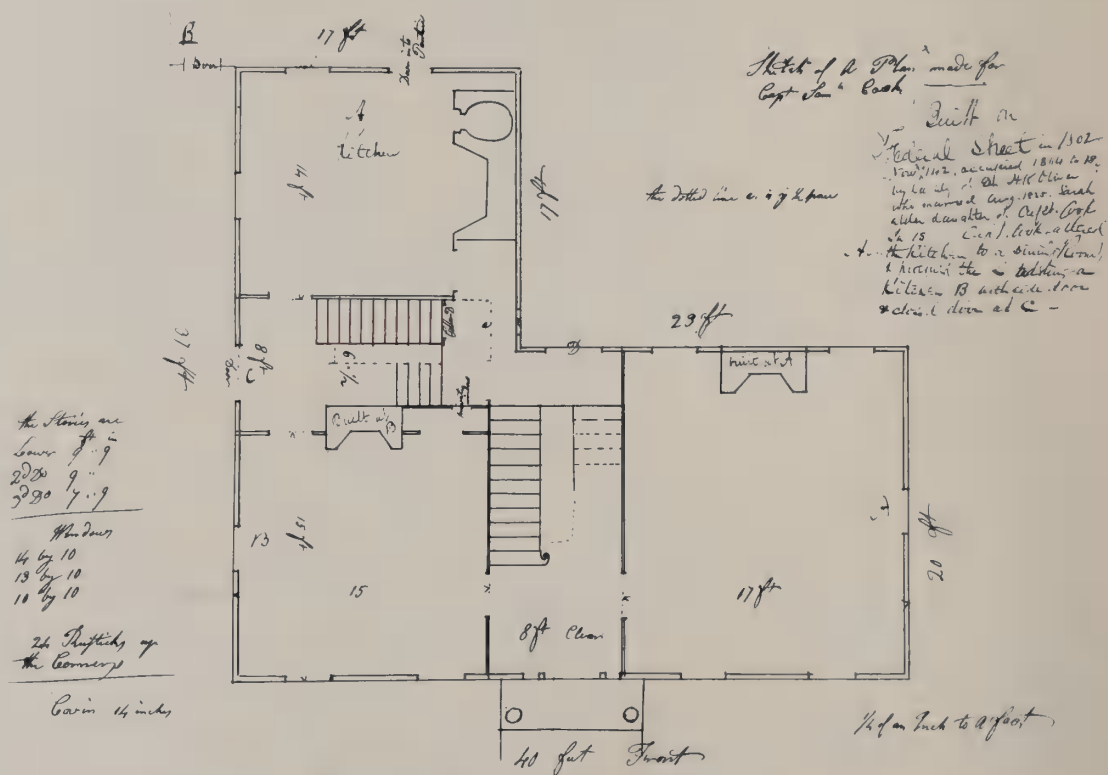


Figure 220. Samuel Cook House, 142 Federal Street, 1802–1803.



Figure 221. Fence of the Samuel Cook House.



Figure 222. Samuel Cook House.



Figure 223. Samuel Cook House. Parlor.



Figure 224. Samuel Cook House. West chamber mantel.



Figure 225. Samuel Cook House. East chamber mantel, after 1808.



Figure 226. Samuel Cook House. Porch.



Figure 227. Samuel Cook House. Fence post.



Figure 228. Samuel Cook House. Hall door, after 1808.



Figure 229. Samuel Cook House. Stairs.

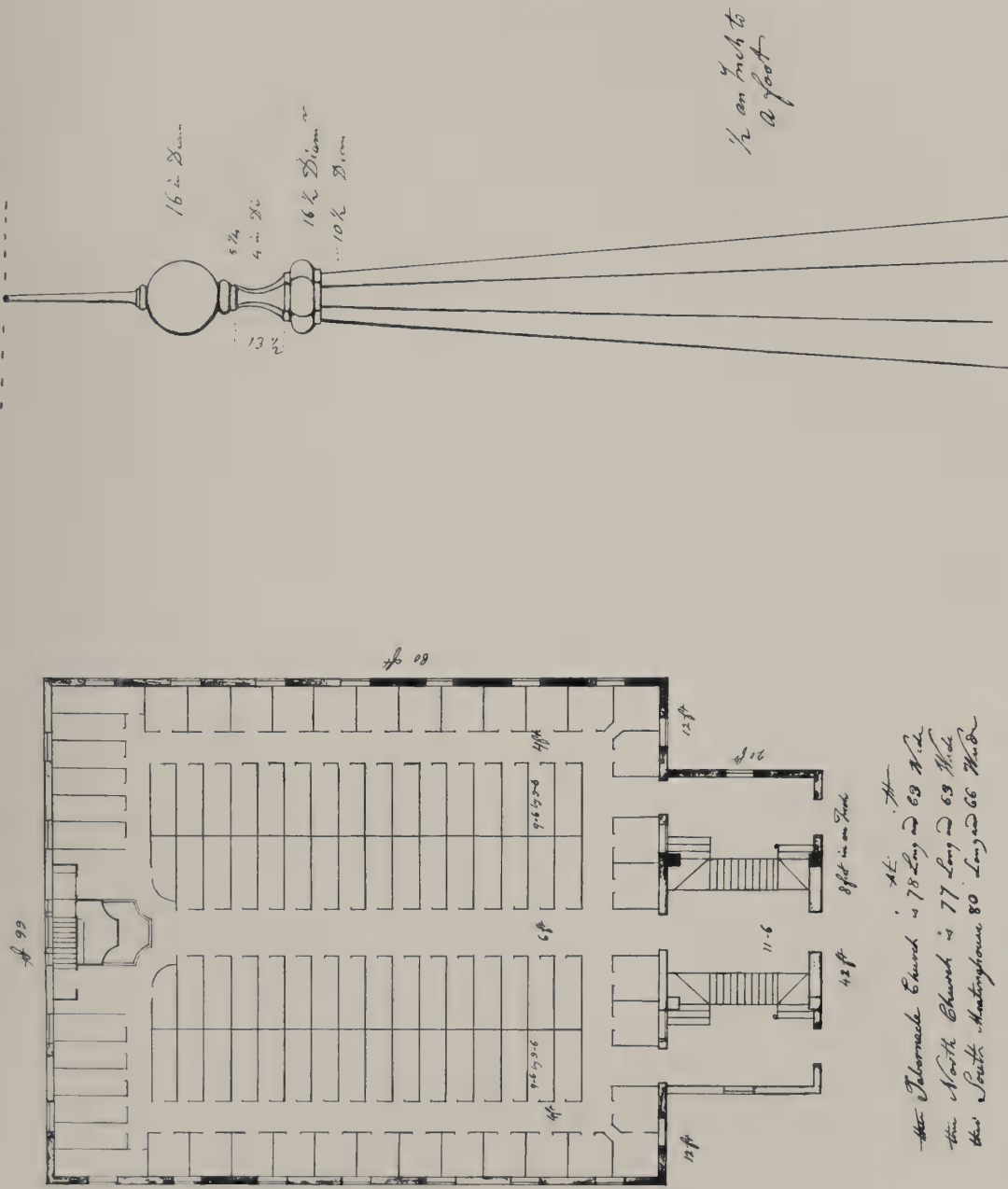


Figure 230. South Church, Chestnut and Cambridge Streets, 1803-1804.

Figure 231. South Church. Steeple.



Figure 232. South Church steeple.

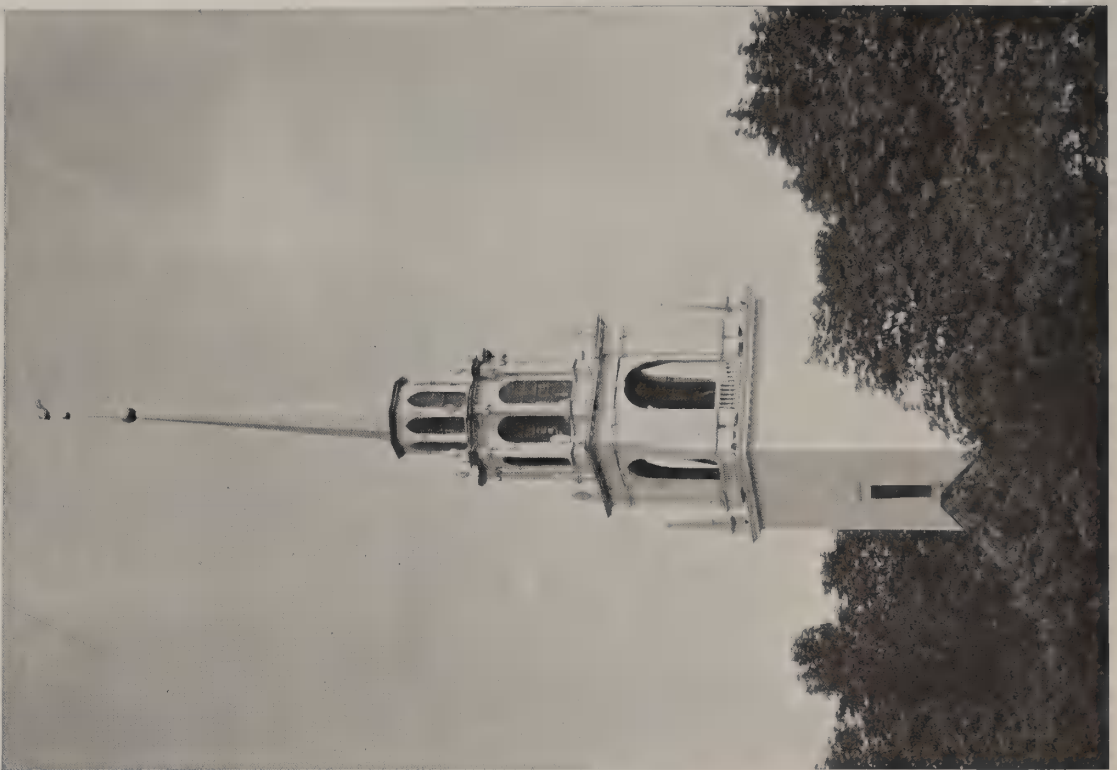
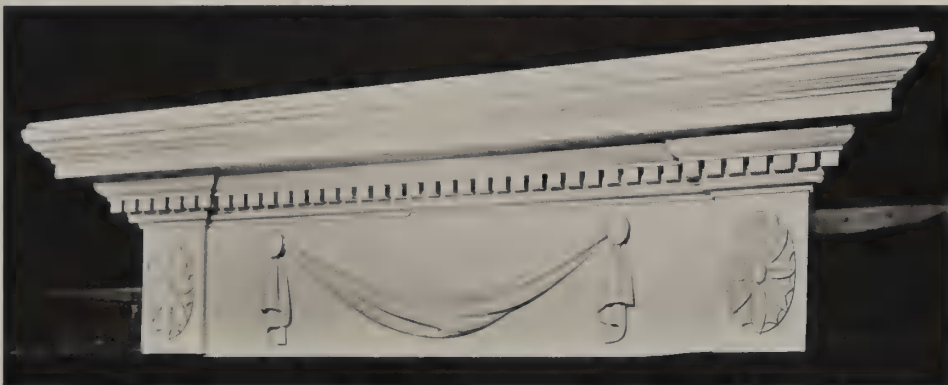


Figure 233. Unitarian Church, Newburyport. Steeple. The model for McIntire's.



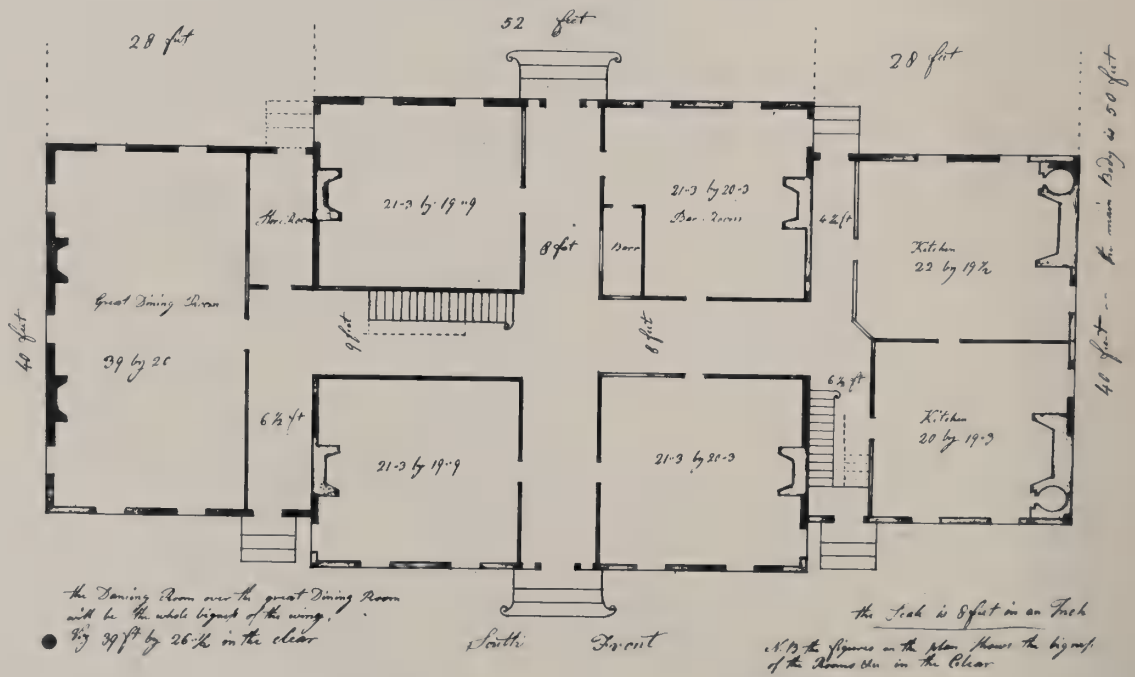
Figures 234-236. South Church. Details preserved by the Essex Institute.



the lower floor is 11 feet
the 2d floor is 12 feet
the 3d is 9 feet — the glass 16 by 11
upper floor 11 by 11

South Front 108 feet

18 feet on each side to 12 feet



Figures 237 and 238. Studies for Turnpike Tavern, Lynn, 1803.



Figure 239. Turnpike Tavern, Lynn.



Figure 240. Turnpike Tavern, Topsfield.

No 33

*Sketches from the Plans of the floors of a Building, designed for a Tavern,
for Newbury Turnpike -*

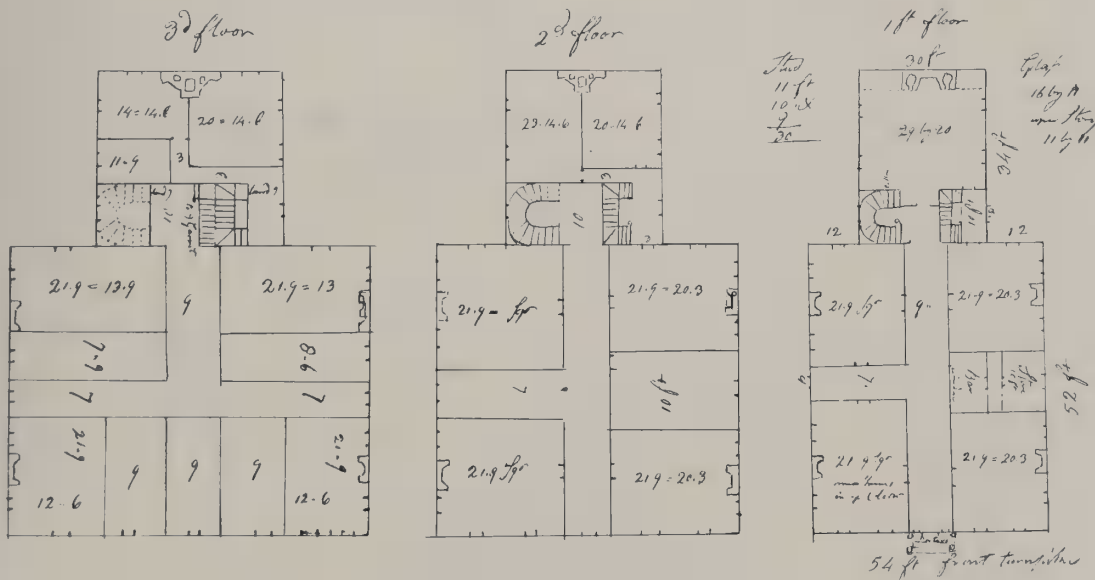


Figure 241. Turnpike Tavern, Topsfield, 1803-1804.

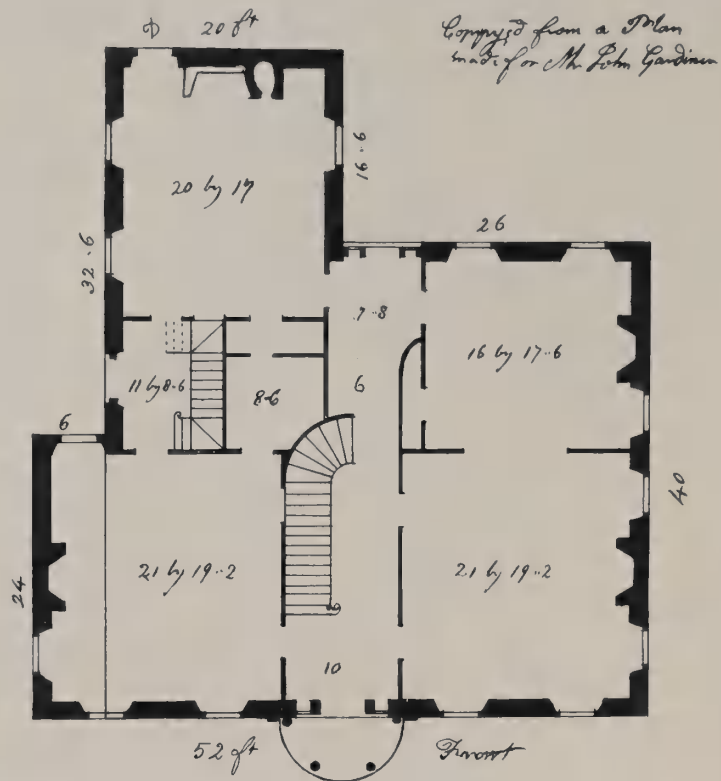


Figure 242. John Gardner (Pingree) House, 128 Essex Street, 1804-1805.



Figure 243. John Gardner House. Front parlor.



Figure 244. John Gardner House. Front parlor.



Figure 245. John Gardner House. Back parlor.



Figure 246. John Gardner House. Southeast chamber.



Figure 247. John Gardner House. Northeast chamber.



Figure 248. John Gardner House. Southwest chamber.



Figure 249. John Gardner House. Parlor mantel.



Figure 250. John Gardner House. Parlor mantel detail.

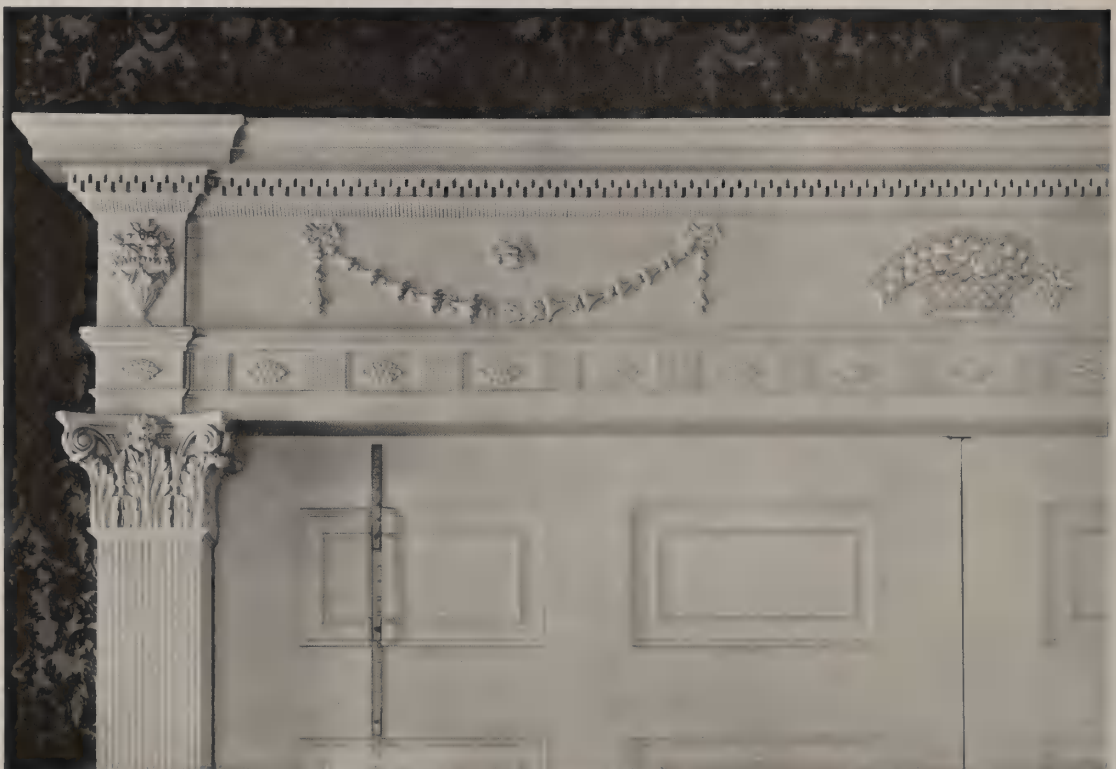


Figure 251. John Gardner House. Parlor door detail.

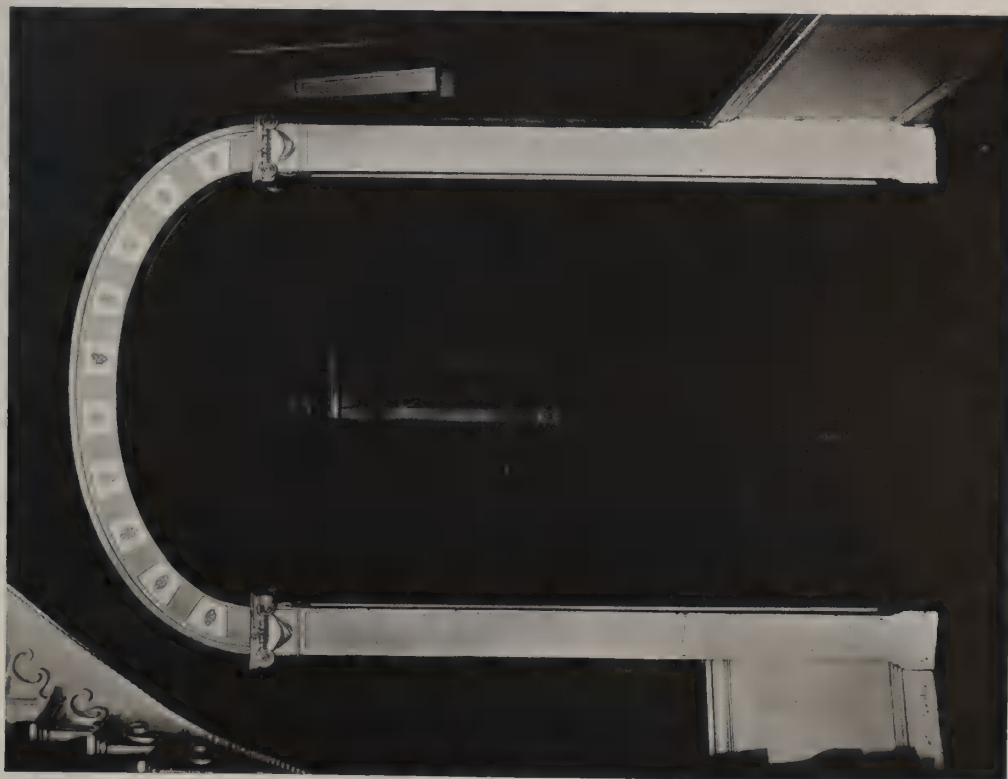


Figure 252. John Gardner House. Hall arch.



Figure 253. John Gardner House. Parlor door.



Figure 254. Clifford Crowninshield House. Hall door.



Figure 255. Clifford Crowninshield House. Back stairs.



Figure 256. Clifford Crowninshield House, 74 Washington Square, 1804-1806.



Figure 257. Clifford Crowninshield House. Stable.



Figure 258. Clifford Crowninshield House. Mantel on second floor.

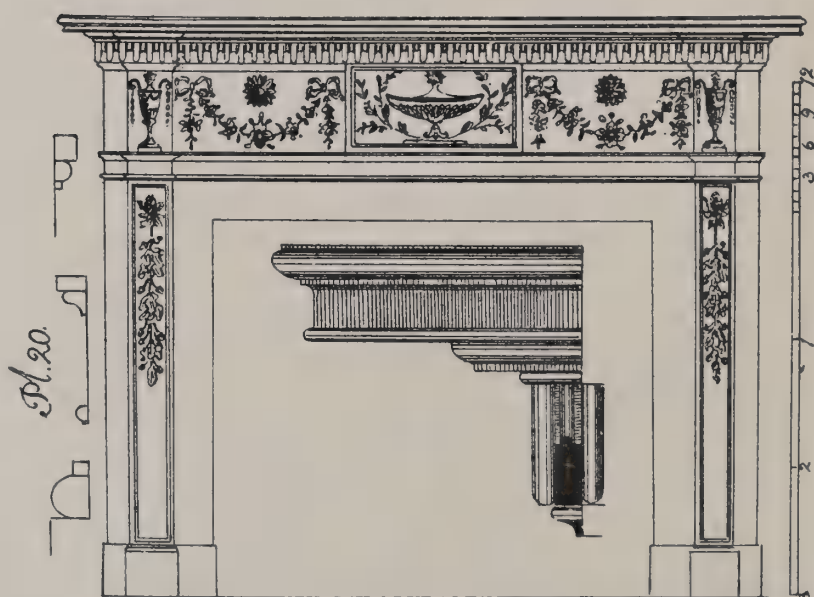


Figure 259. Prototype of the Clifford Crowninshield mantel.
From Benjamin's *Country Builder's Assistant*, 1796.



Figure 260. Central Street, with the old Custom House (right), 1805.
Photograph of 1865.

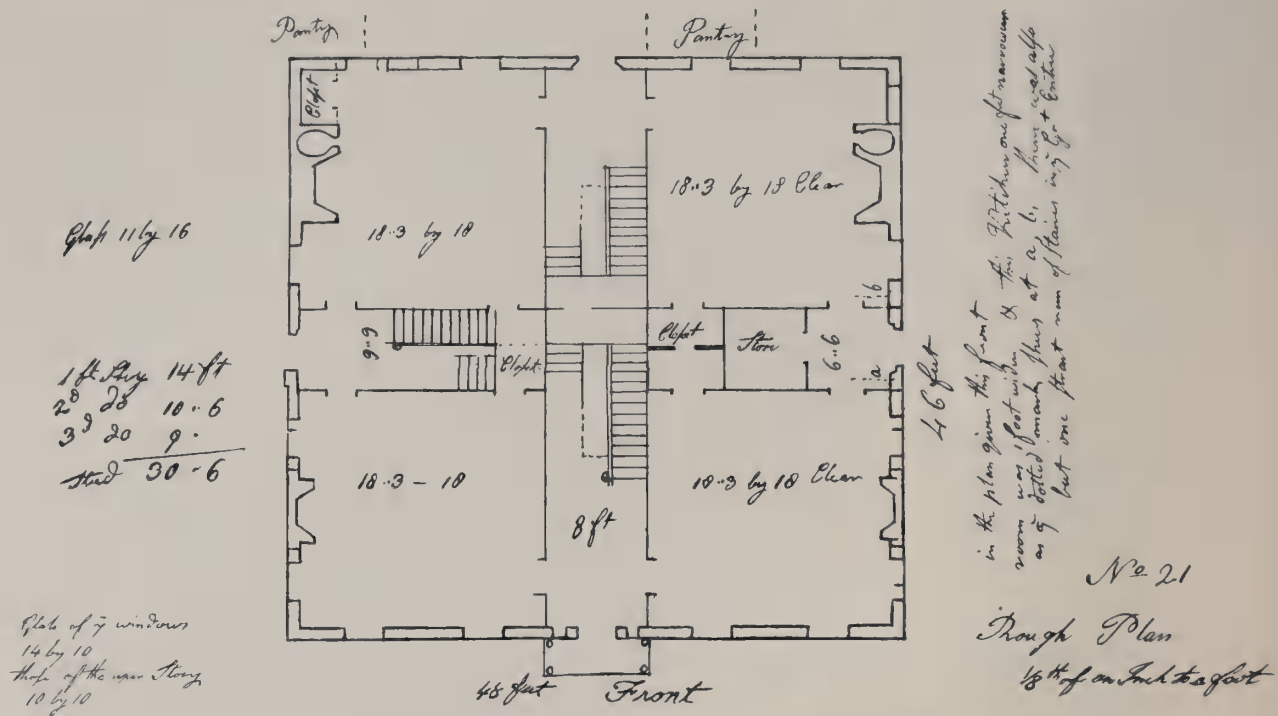


Figure 261. Jonathan Hodges House, 12 Chestnut Street.



Figure 262. Jonathan Hodges House, as modified 1845.

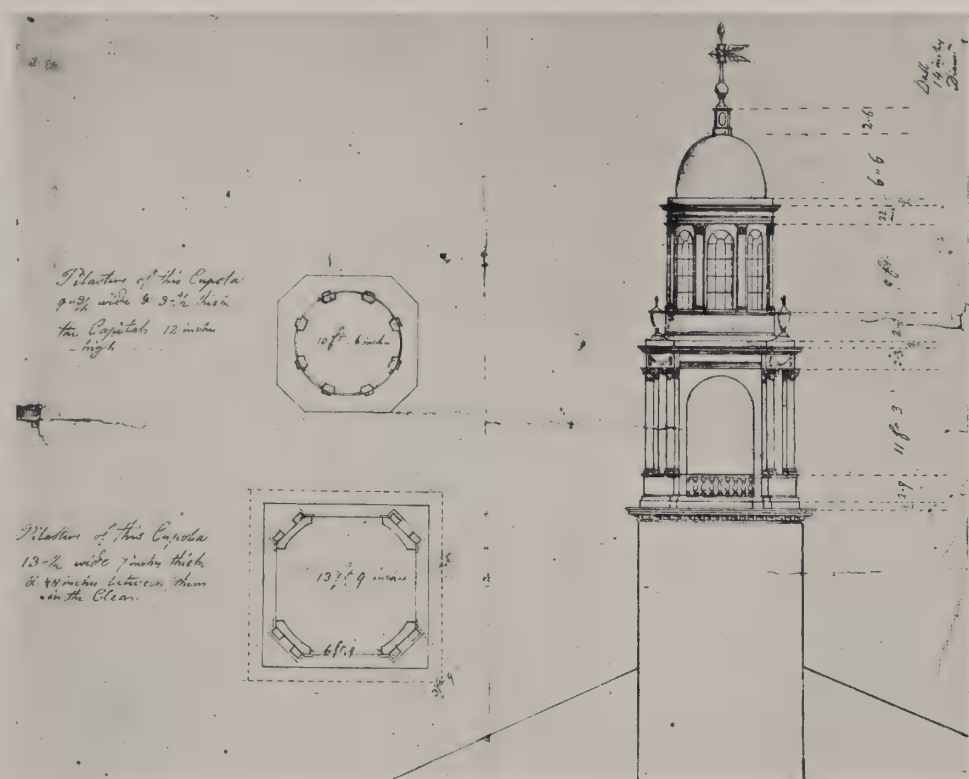


Figure 263. Steeple of the Tabernacle Church, Washington and Federal Streets, 1805.



Figure 264. Tabernacle Church. Lithograph by A. P. Hodgdon.



Figure 265. Salem Bank, Essex Street, 1805.

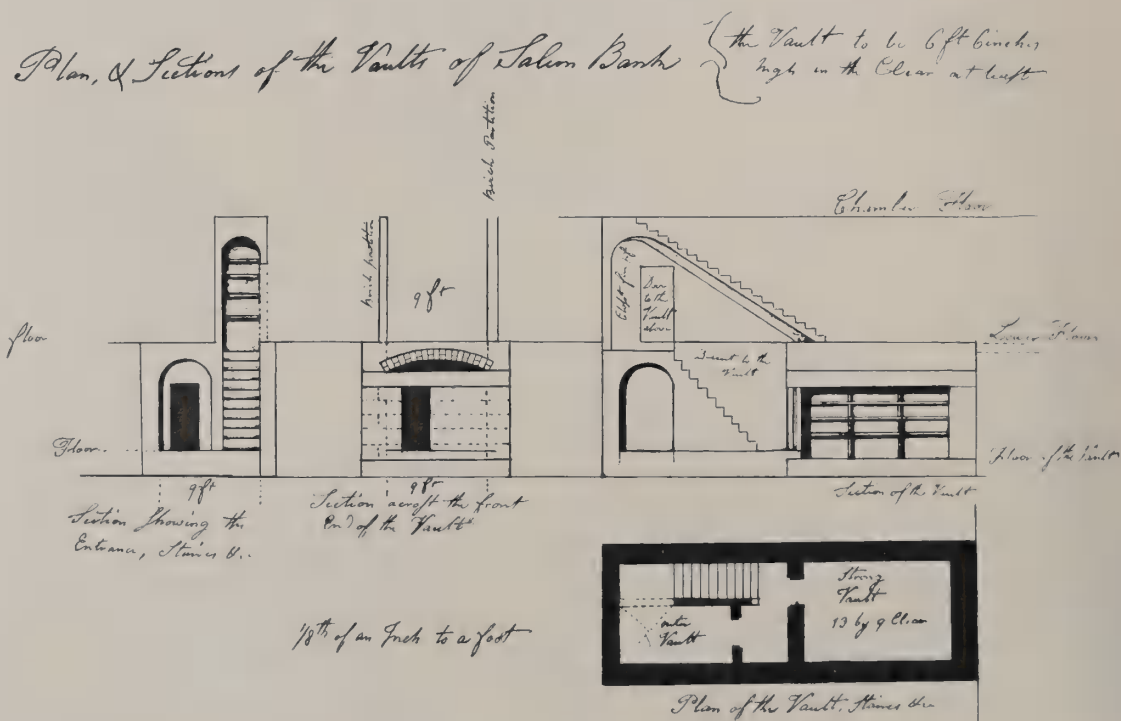


Figure 266. Vaults of the Salem Bank.



Figures 267 and 268. Hamilton Hall, 7 Cambridge Street.



Figures 269 and 270. Hamilton Hall.



Figure 271. Unidentified Building, about 1805–1809.

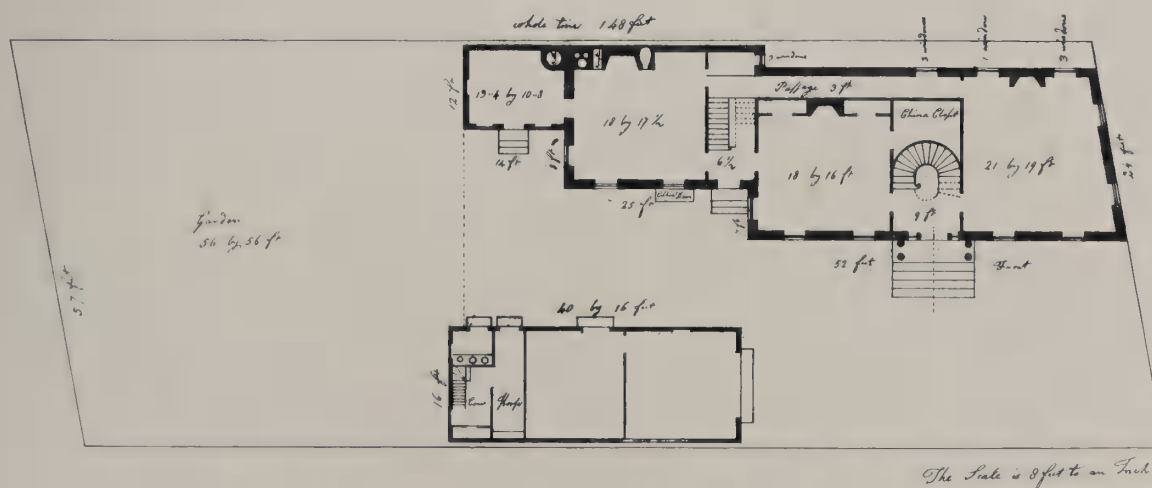
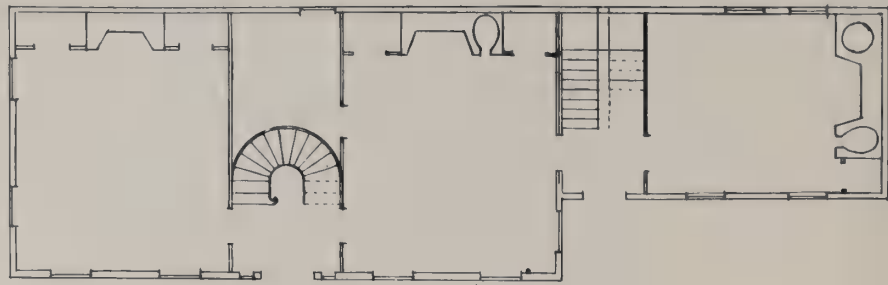


Figure 272. Unidentified House, about 1805–1809.



Figures 273 and 274. Thomas Butman House, 14 Cambridge Street, 1805-1807.



Figure 275. Thomas Butman House. Parlor mantel.



Figure 276. Thomas Butman House. Stairs.

*Drough Plan for Registry Office & Dwelling, Sec.
 this Plan to 8 feet above ground { 3rd of an Inch to a Foot
 1st story 10 ft 2 1/2 by 4*

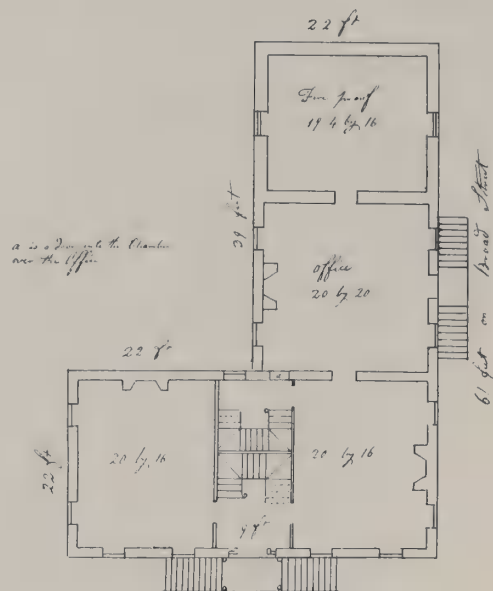


Figure 277. Registry of Deeds, Summer and Broad Streets, 1807. Demolished 1854.



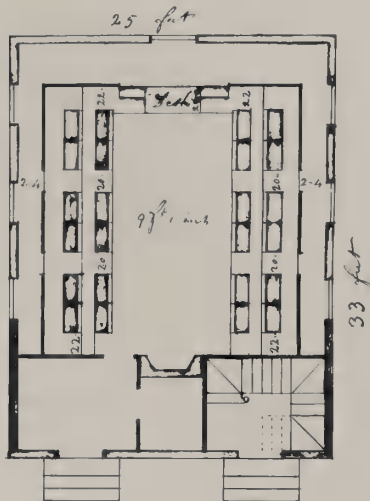
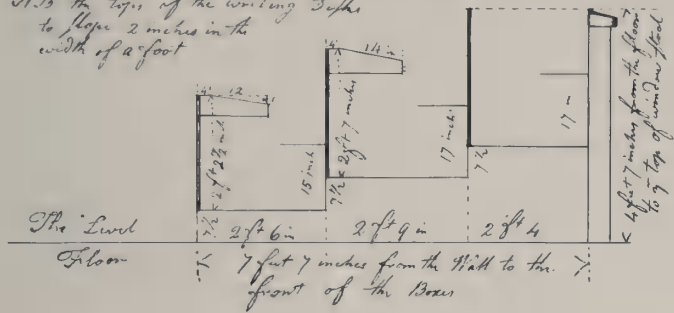
Figure 278. Registry of Deeds. Mantel preserved by the Essex Institute.

The Glaze of 7 windows
10 by 8 & 24 lights each

Plan of a School house
Chesnut Street, Salem.
 $\frac{1}{8}$ of an Inch to a foot.

Section of the writing Desks, Lutes &c.
on a Scale of $\frac{1}{2}$ an Inch to a foot.

N.B the tops of the writing Tables
to slope 2 inches in the
width of a foot



Figures 279 and 280. Salem Private Grammar School, Summer Street, 1807.

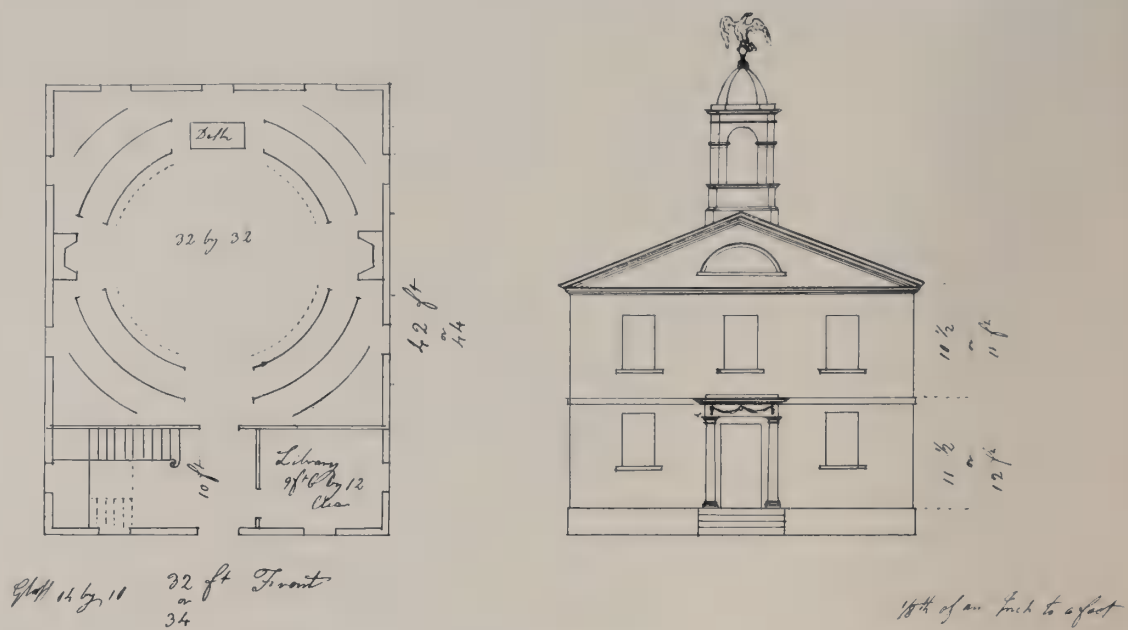


Figure 281. Study for a school.



Figure 282. Moses Little House, 131 Essex Street, 1807.



Figure 283. Joseph Sprague, Jr. House, 380 Essex Street, about 1807.



Figure 284. Joseph Sprague, Jr. House. Porch.



Figures 285 and 286. Joseph Sprague, Jr. House. Chamber mantels.



Figure 287. Enoch Dow House, 151 Lafayette Street, 1807–1809.
Demolished about 1910.



Figure 288. Enoch Dow House. Cornice preserved by the Essex Institute.



Figure 289. Prototypes of the Dow cornices.
From Benjamin Raynerd's *American Builder's Companion*, 1806.



Figures 290 and 291. Mantel from the Enoch Dow House as installed in the house of Philip Horton Smith, Federal Street, Salem.



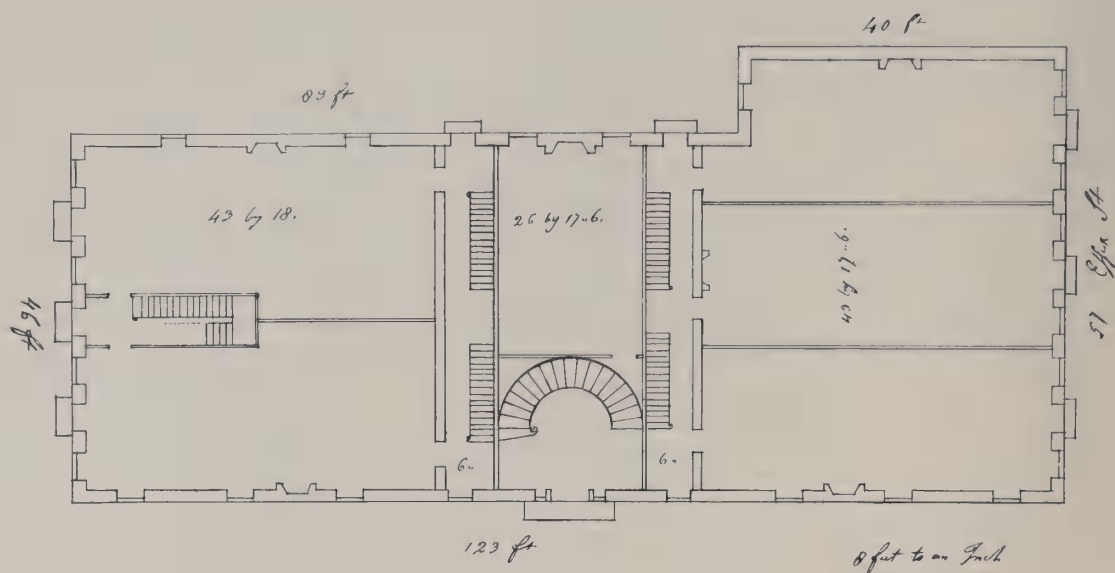
Figure 292. Gideon Tucker House, 129 Essex Street, 1808–1809.



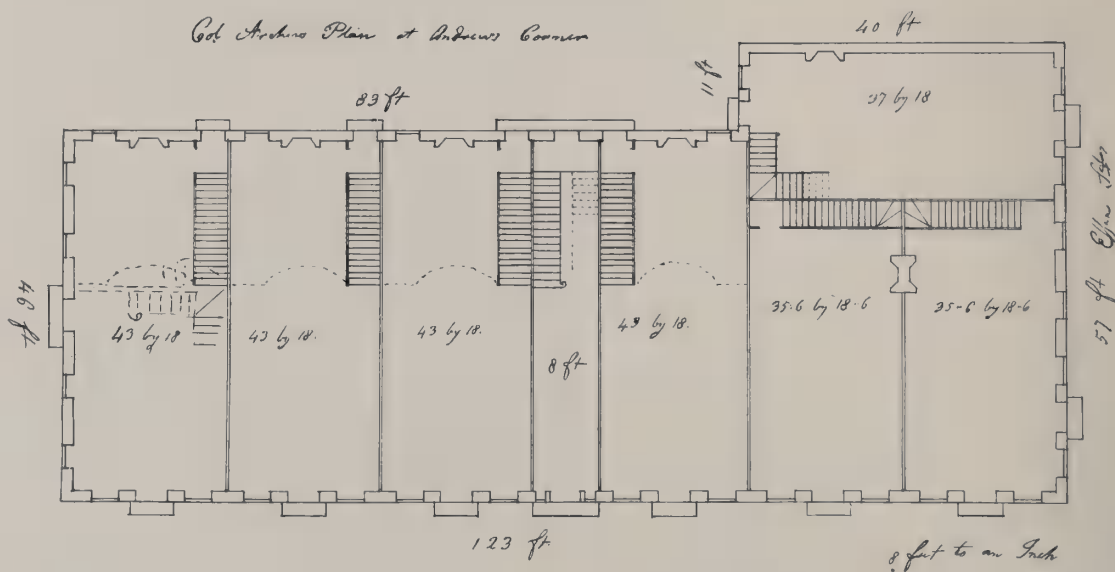
Figure 293. Gideon Tucker House. Porch. Preserved by the Essex Institute.



Figure 294. Gideon Tucker House. Hall. Photograph before 1896.



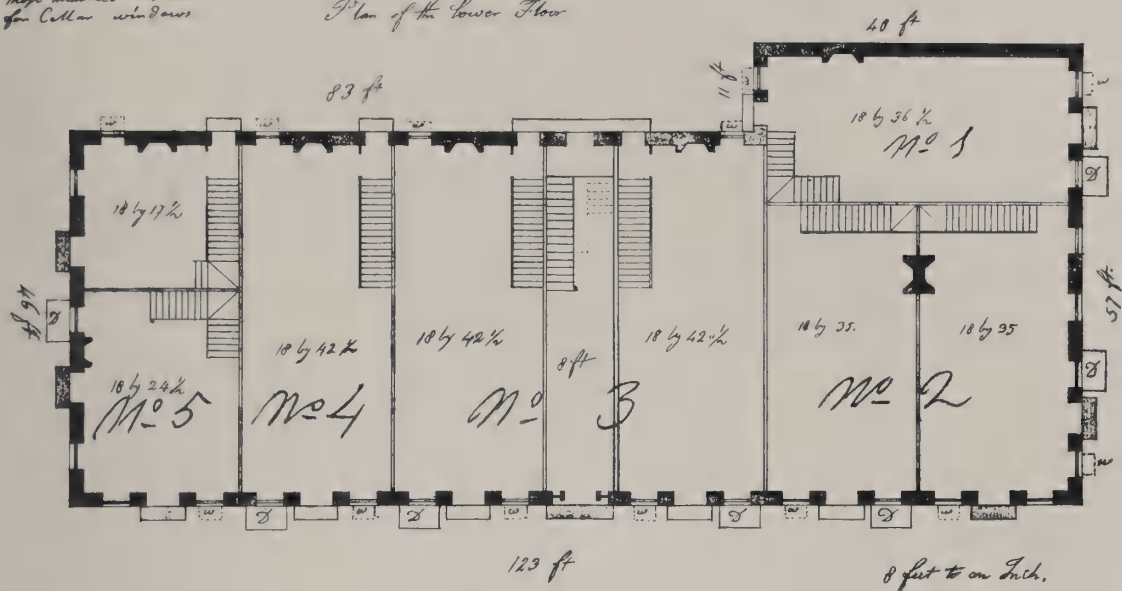
God. Archino Plan at Andrews Corner



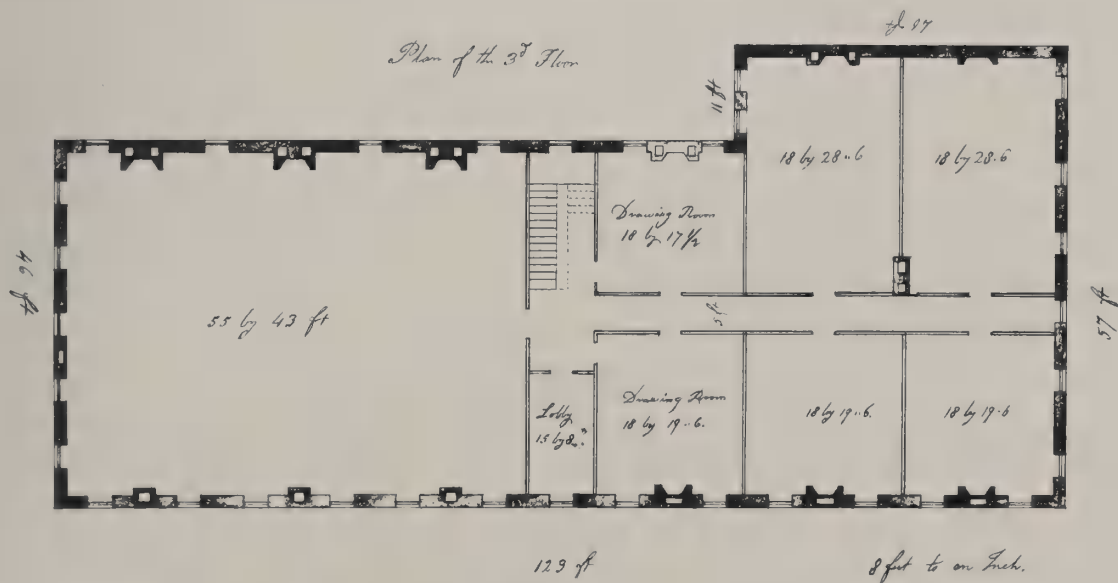
Figures 295 and 296. Studies for the Archer Building, Essex and Newbury Streets,
1809-1810.

Shop places marked X.
are for Celler Doors —
those marked W, are
for Celler windows

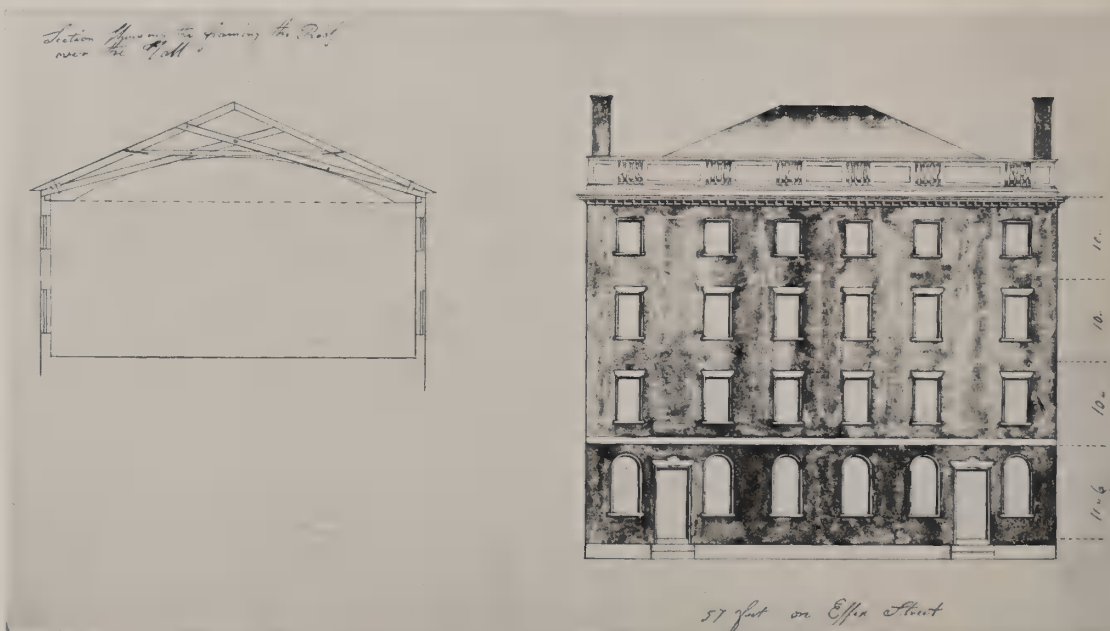
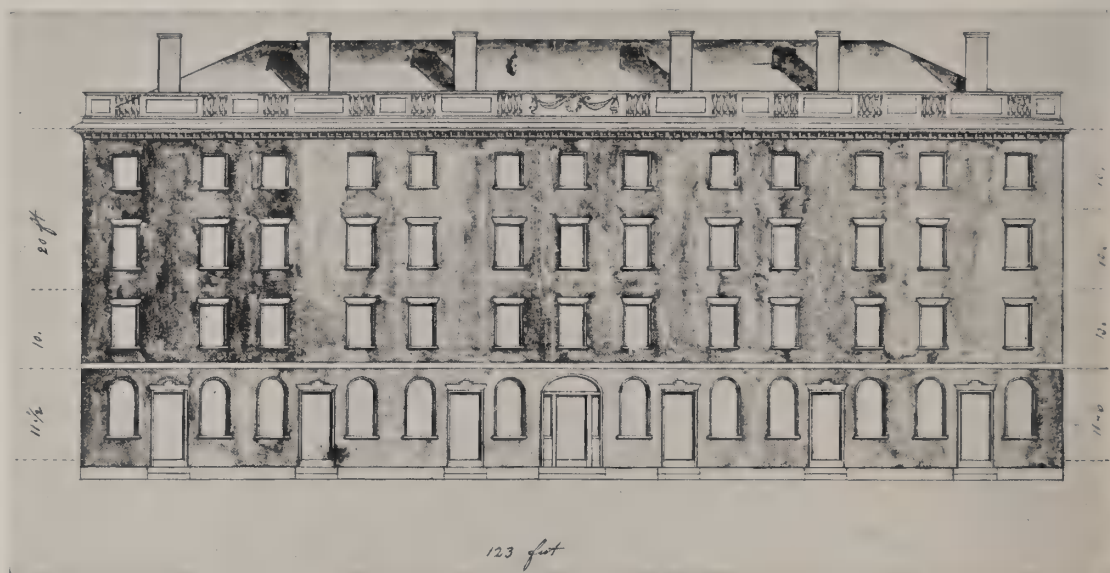
Plan of the Lower Floor



Plan of the 3rd Floor



Figures 297 and 298. Archer Building. Plans.



Figures 299 and 300. Archer Building. Elevations.



Figure 301. Thomas March Woodbridge House, 48 Bridge Street, 1809–1810.



Figure 302. Woodbridge House. West door.



Figure 303. Prototype of the Woodbridge door.
From Pain's *Practical House Carpenter*, 1794.



Figure 304. Woodbridge House. Southeast chamber mantel.



Figure 305. Woodbridge House. Southwest chamber mantel.



Figure 306. Woodbridge House. Stairs.



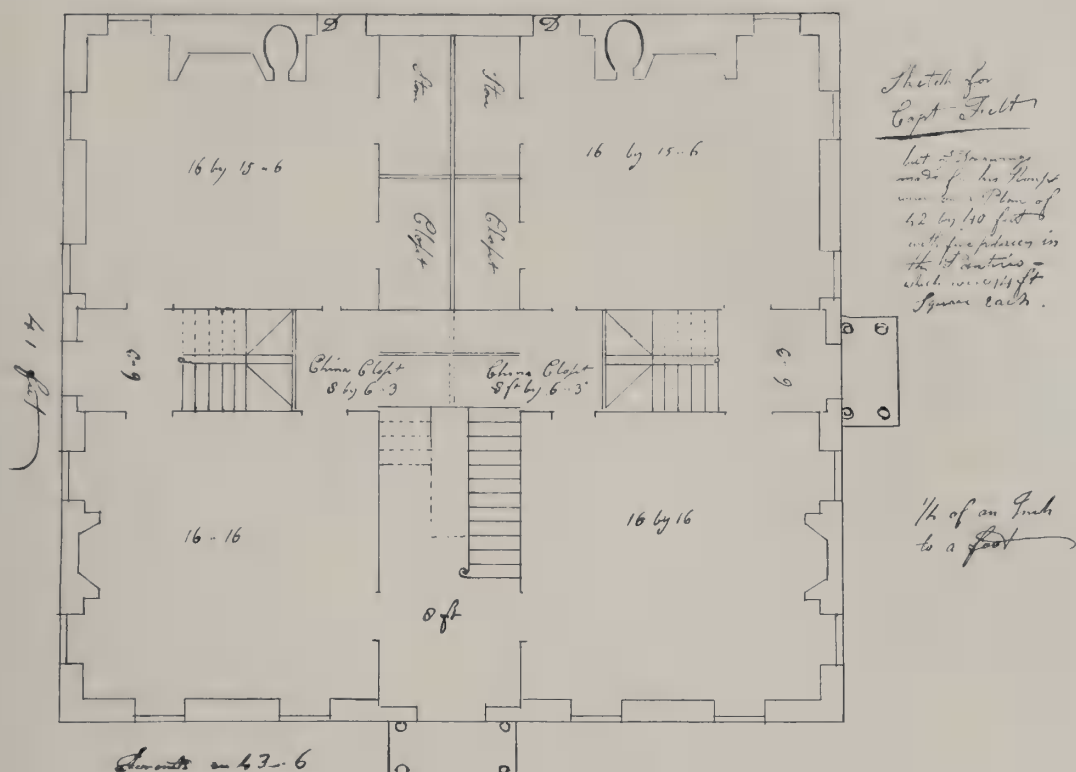
Figure 307. Woodbridge House. Hall window.



Figure 308. Woodbridge House. Parlor mantel.



Figure 309. Woodbridge House. Parlor window.



Figures 310 and 311. Joseph Felt House. 153 Lafayette Street, 1809-1812.
 Destroyed by fire, 1914.



Figures 312 and 313. Joseph Felt House. Interiors.



Figures 314 and 315. Joseph Felt House. Interiors.



Figure 316. Jabez Baldwin House, 92 Washington Square, 1809–1812.



Figure 317. Jabez Baldwin House. Northwest parlor mantel.

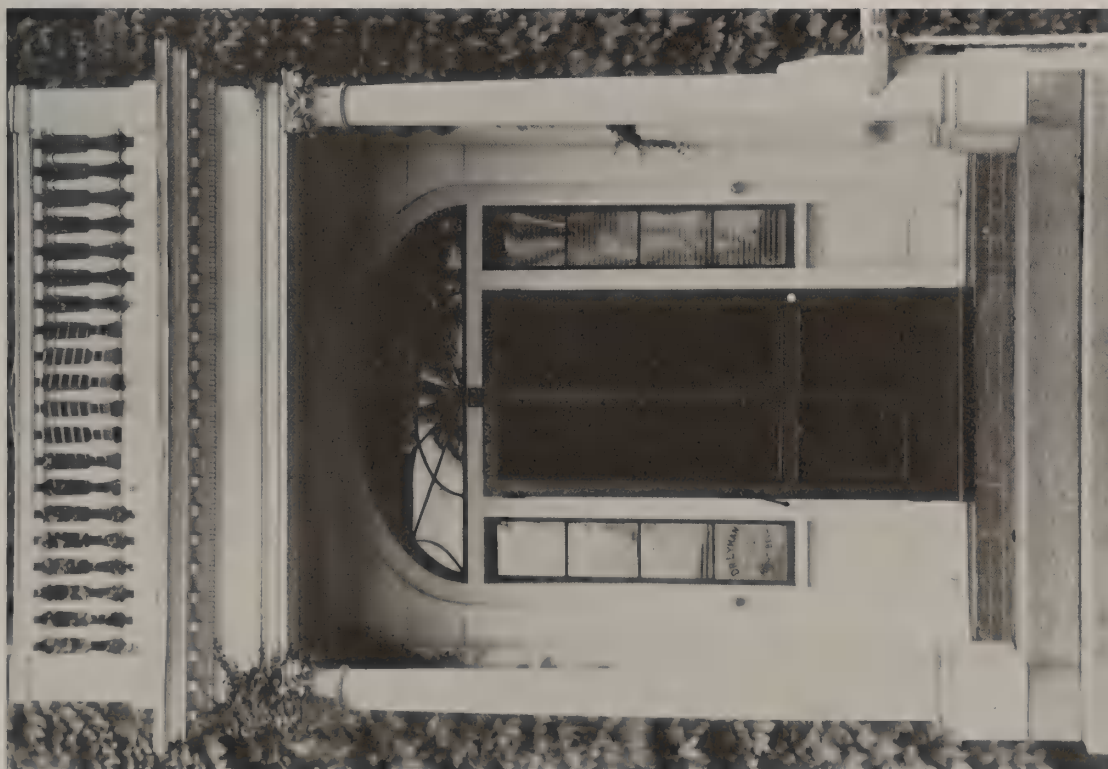


Figure 318. Jabez Baldwin House. Porch.



Figure 319. Jabez Baldwin House. Back stairs.

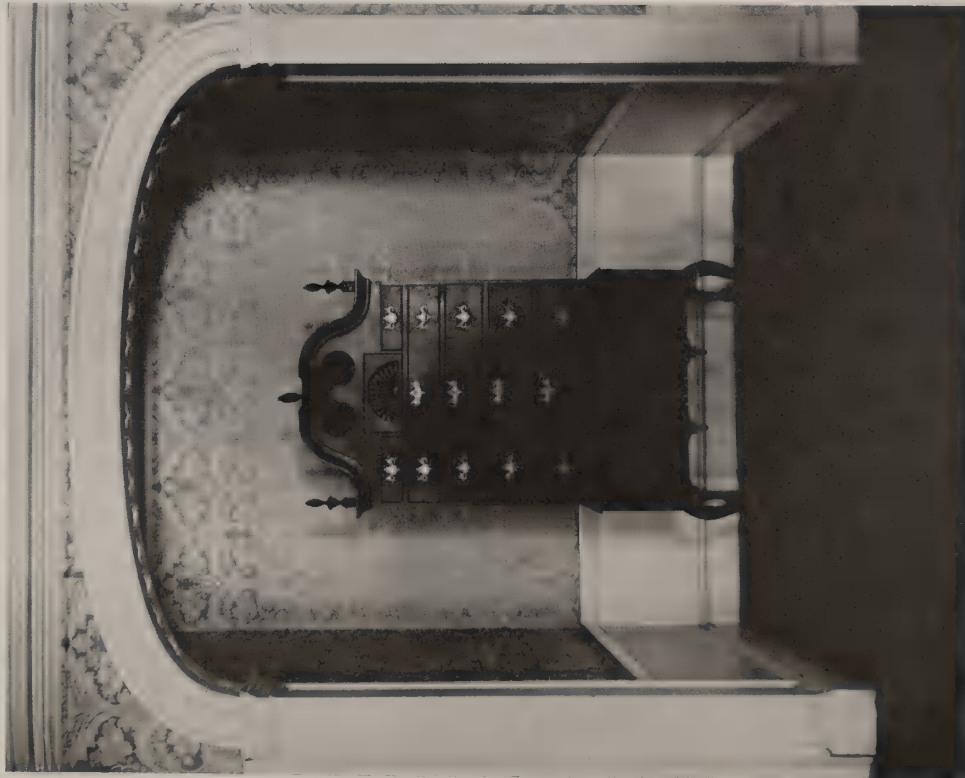


Figure 320. Jabez Baldwin House. Alcove.



Figure 321. Jabez Baldwin House. Mantel, third floor.



Figure 322. Benjamin Williams Crowninshield House, 180 Derby Street, 1810-1812.

Figure 323. Benjamin Williams Crowninshield House. Hall door.



Figure 324. Benjamin Williams Crowninshield House. Parlor mantel.

Wm. J. Gray's Plan

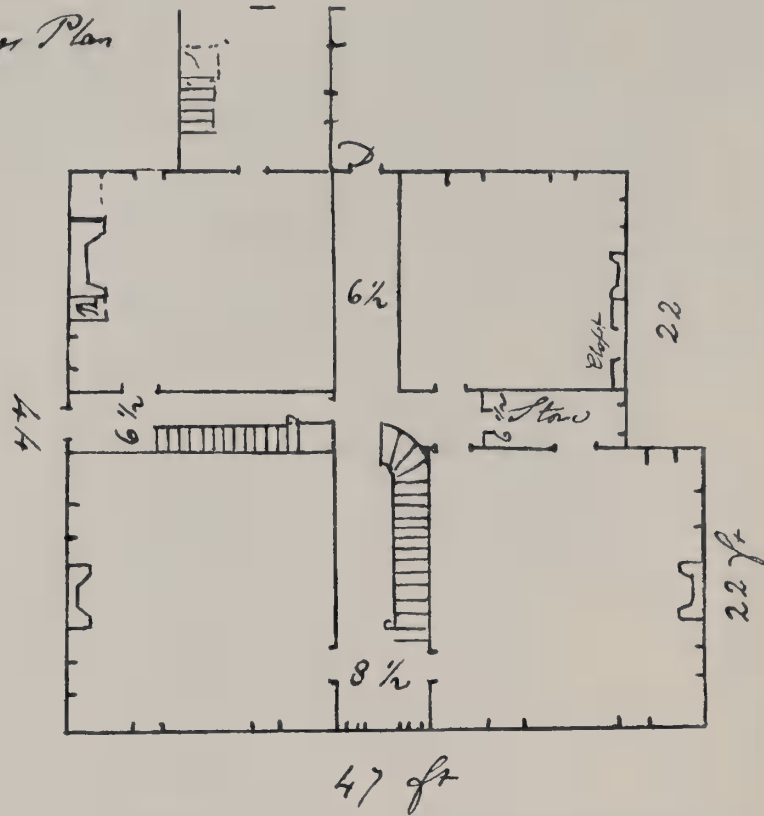


Figure 325. House for William Gray, after 1808.

for Capt. E.

windows 10 by 14 in
the lower story
10 by 13-2 do do
10 by 10-3 do do

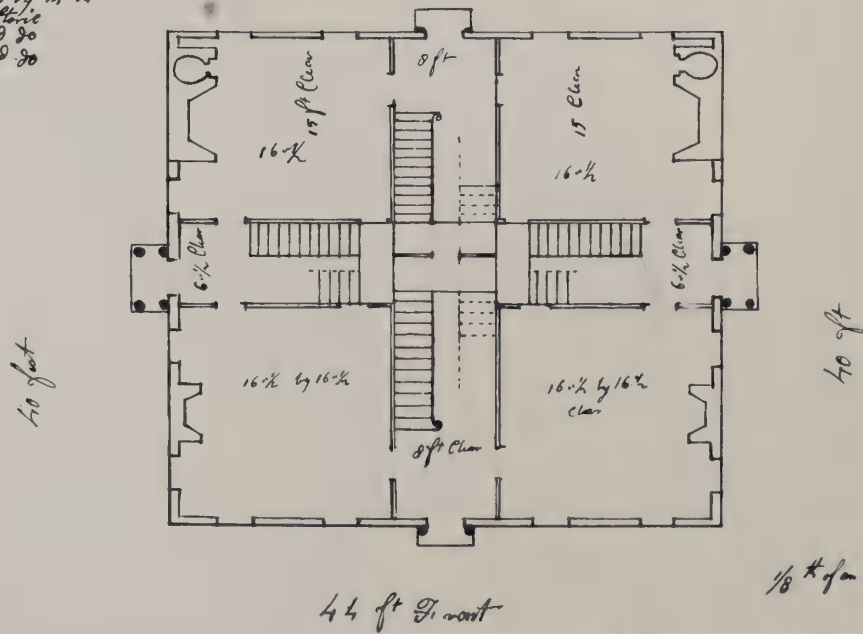


Figure 326. House "for Captain E."

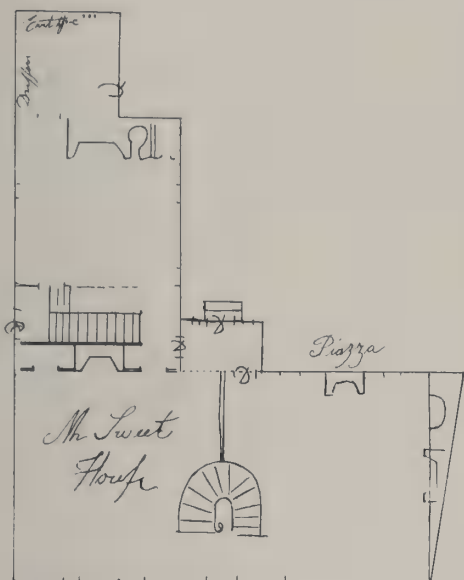


Figure 327. "Mr. Sweet's House."



Figure 328. Barn of the Derby Farm, Peabody.
Now re-erected at Watertown.



Figure 329. Barn of the Derby Farm.



Figure 330. House at the Derby Farm, Peabody.

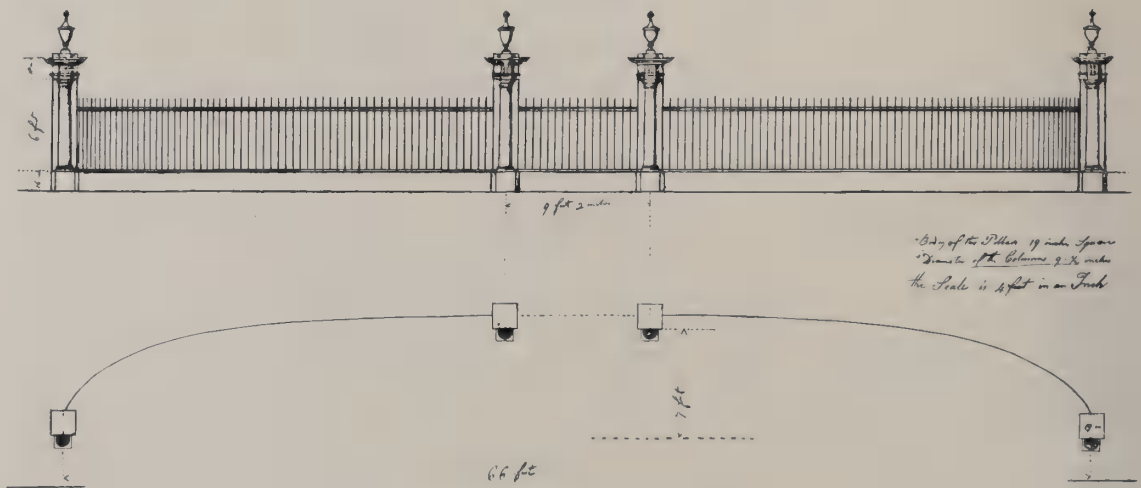


Figure 331. Unidentified fence.



Figure 332. Fence post at 25 Chestnut Street. The fence itself is modern.



Figure 333. Door at 19 Margin Street. Destroyed by fire 1914.



Figure 334. Door at 40 Summer Street

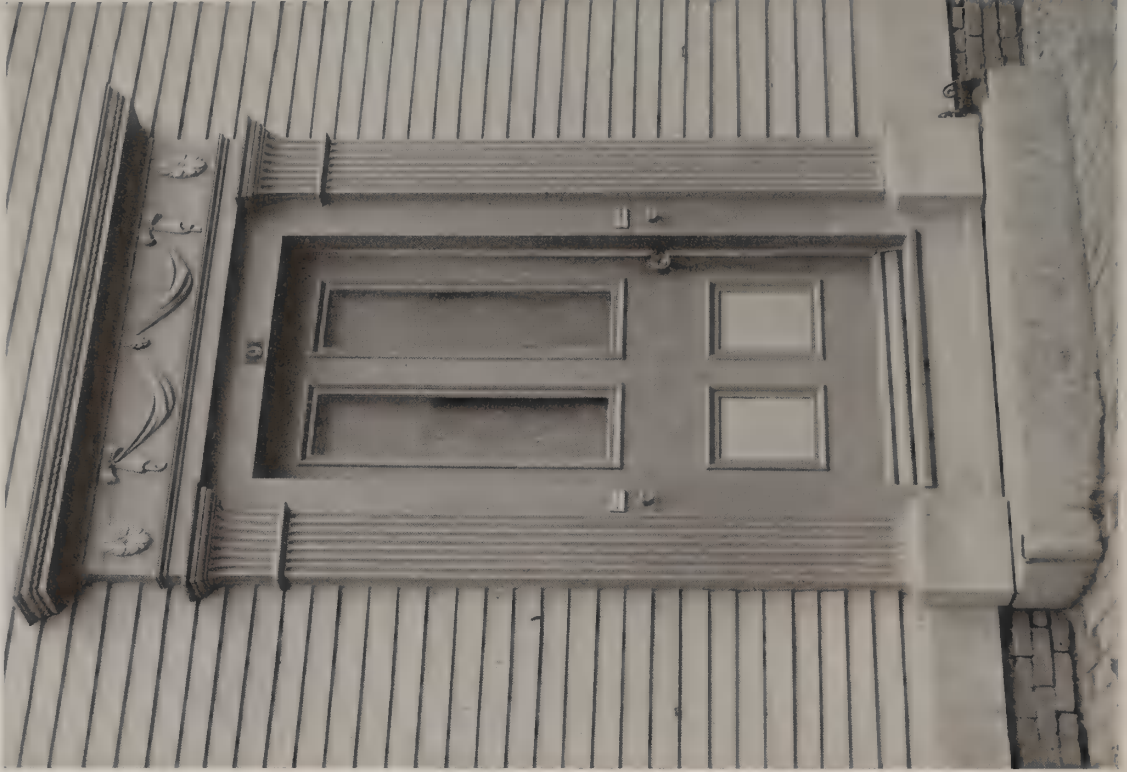


Figure 335. Door at 9 Federal Street.



Figure 336. Mantel formerly in the collection of Francis Shaw.



Figure 337. Mantel in the Joseph Hosmer House, 80 Washington Square.



Figure 338. Room from Frye's Tavern, 94 Boston Street, as installed in the City Art Museum, Saint Louis.



Figure 339. Room from the Joseph Tufts House, 67 Main Street, Peabody. Removed 1931.



Figure 340. Room in the Timothy Lindall House, 393 Essex Street.
Photograph of 1891.



Figure 341. Prototypes of the Lindall House mantel.
From Benjamin Rayner's *American Builder's Companion*, 1806.



Figure 342. Mantel with McIntire carvings, Marvin House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire.



Figure 343. Mantel with McIntire carvings, Kittredge House, North Andover.



Figures 344 and 345. Mantels with McIntire carvings from the George Fabens House, High Street.



Figure 346. Mantel formerly in the Joseph Cabot House.
 Photographed by Halliday Historic Photograph Co.



Figure 347. Mantel with McIntire carvings, Emerson House, Topsfield.



Figure 348. Robert Cook (Kimball) House, 14 Pickman Street, 1811.
Carvings by Samuel Field McIntire.

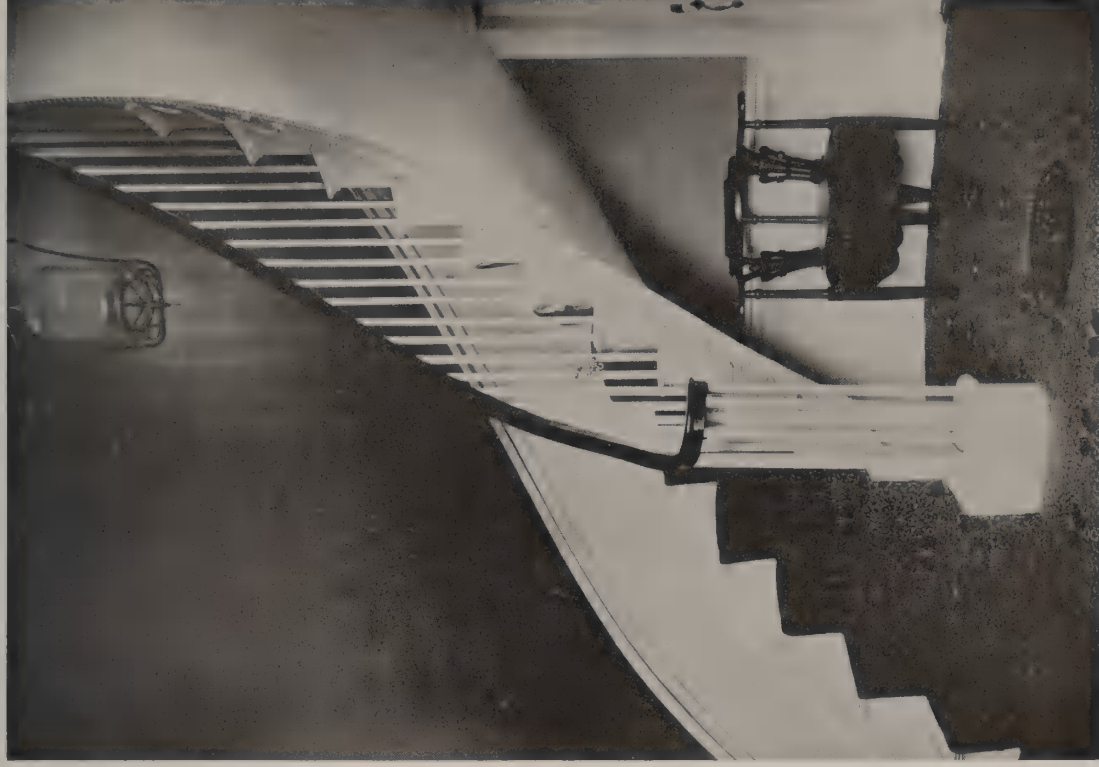


Figure 349. Robert Cook (Kimball) House. Stairs.

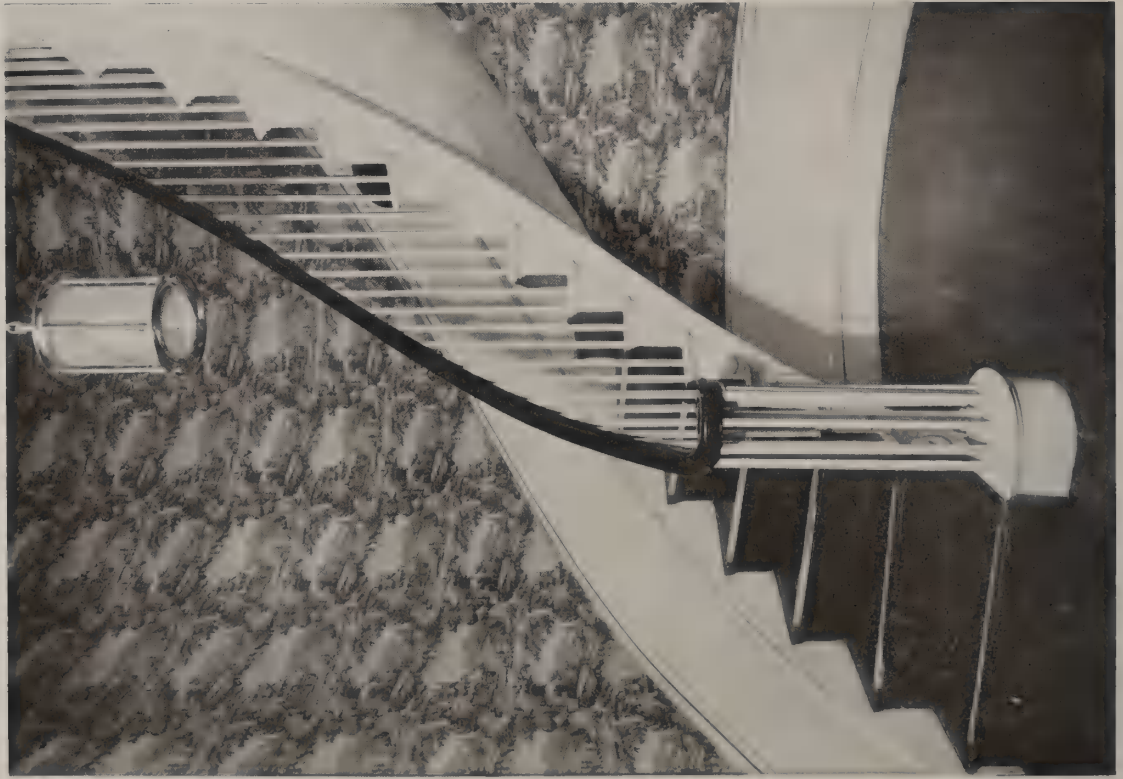
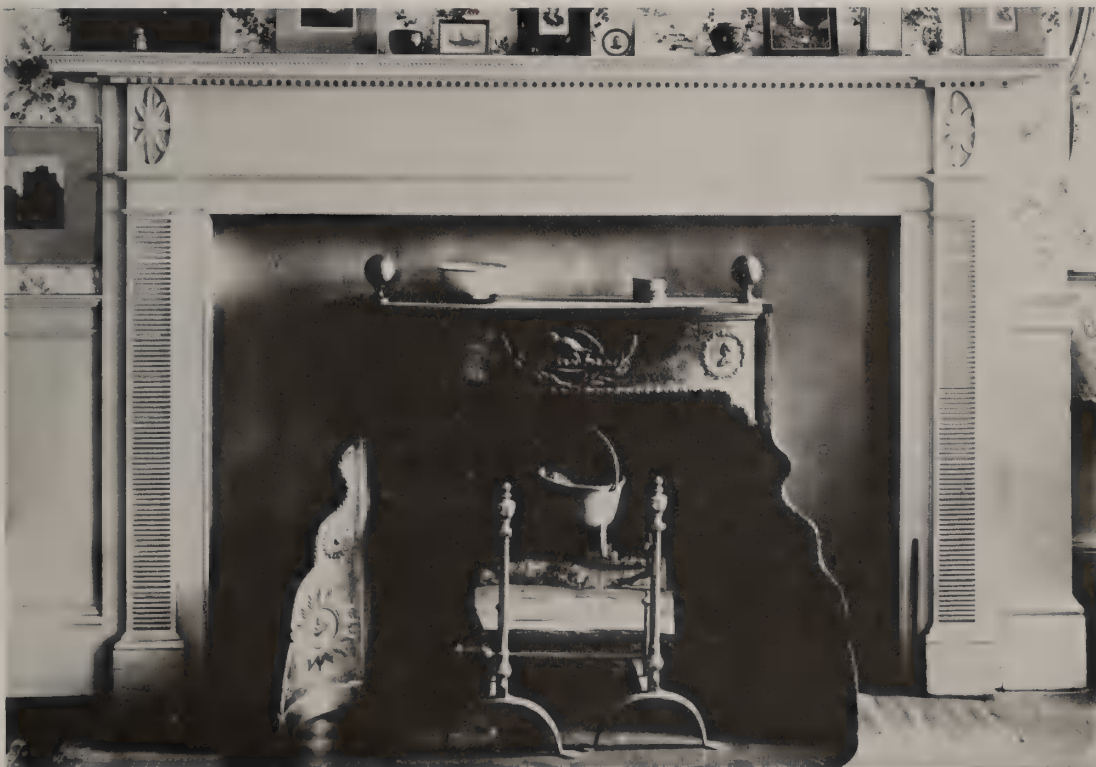


Figure 350. Joseph Fenno House, Hawthorne Boulevard, 1811-1812. Stairs.



Figure 351. Ebenezer Shillaber House, 128-130 Federal Street, after 1811. Hall door.



Figures 352 and 353. Robert Cook (Kimball) House. Mantels. Carvings by Samuel Field McIntire.



Figures 354 and 355. Joseph Fenno House. Mantels. Carvings by Samuel Field McIntire.



Figure 356. Robert Cook (Millet) House, 12 Pickman Street, 1813–1815. Carvings by Samuel Field McIntire.



Figure 357. Ebenezer Shillaber House. Parlor door.

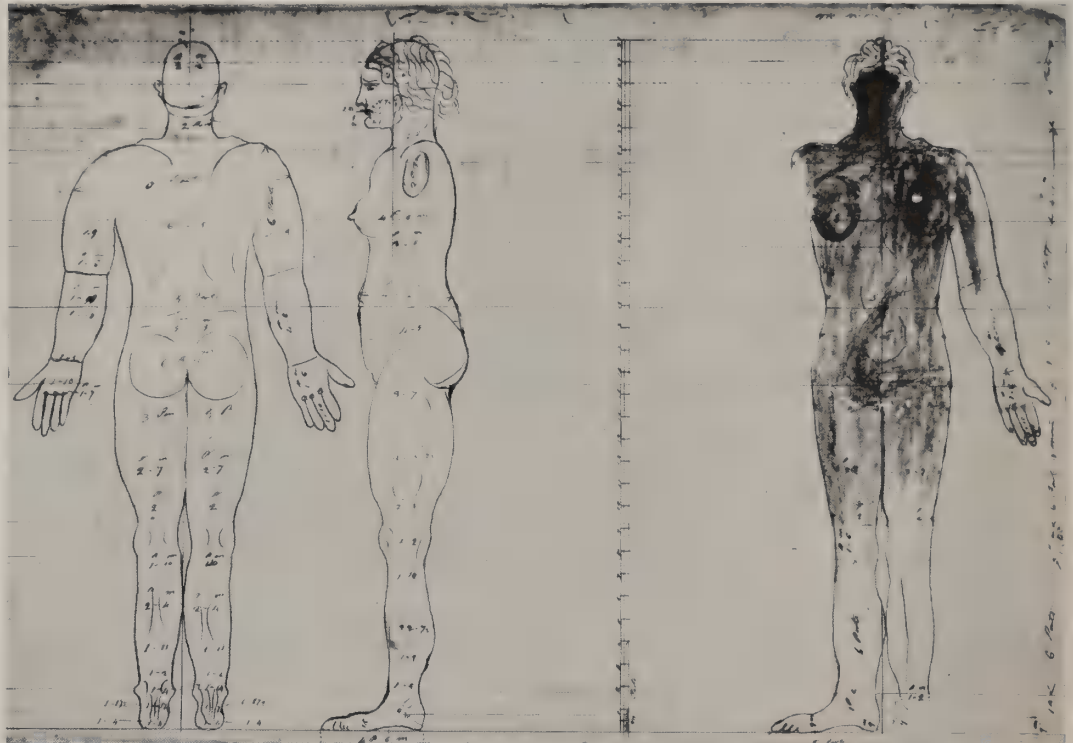
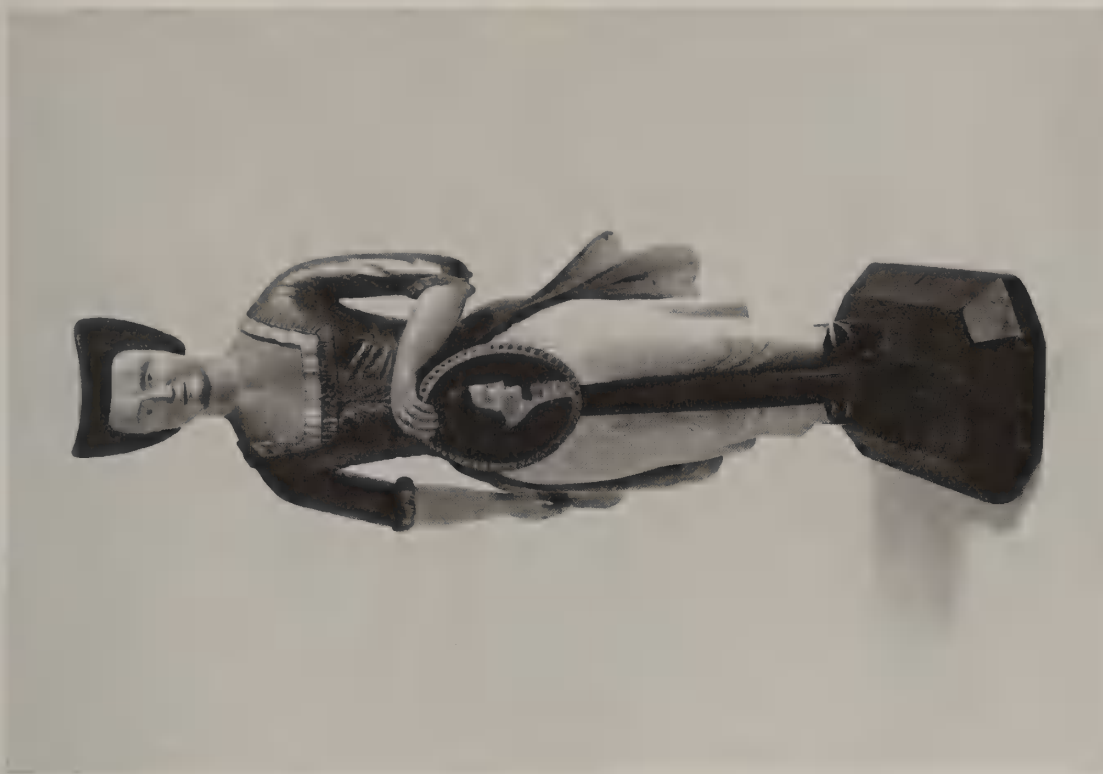


Figure 358. Diagram of the proportions of the human figure. On paper water-marked 1802.



Figure 359. Sketches for ship-carvings.



Figures 360 and 361. Figurehead. Peabody Museum of Salem.



Figure 362. Bust of John Winthrop, 1798. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

Figure 363. Bust of Voltaire. American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.



Figure 364. Medallion of Washington from the west gate of Salem Common, 1802-1805. Preserved by the Essex Institute.

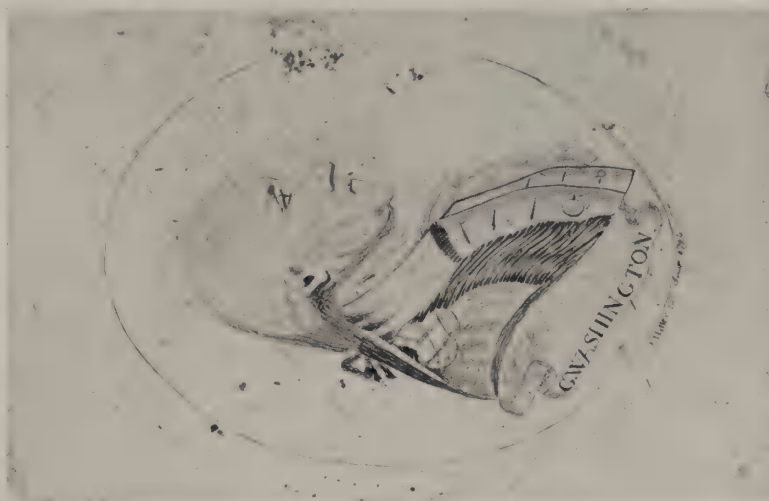


Figure 365. Prototype of McIntire's medallion. Dry point by Joseph Hiller, 1794 after the etching by Joseph Wright, 1790.



Figure 366. Eagle on Jerathmeel Peirce stable.



Figures 367 and 368. Eagle from west gate of Common, 1802-1805.
Now on City Hall.



Figures 369-371. Eagle at the Brookhouse Villa, Marblehead Road, Swampscott.



Figure 372. Woodcut of an eagle in McIntire's sketch-book.
From the *American Federalist*.



Figure 373. Eagle from the Old Custom House, 1805, preserved by the Essex Institute.

Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver
The Architect of Salem

By Fiske Kimball



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Phillips Library

Mr. Samuel McIntire, carver, the archite
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